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THE HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE

COLONIES

AND

FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY THE REV.

JAMES S. M. ANDERSON, M.A.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN,
PREACHER OF LINCOLN'S INN,
RECTOR OF TORMARTON,
AND HONORARY CANON OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

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[Dedication of the First Edition of the First Volume.]

TO THE MOST REVEREND

WILLIAM,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN,

THIS WORK,

BY PERMISSION OF HIS GRACE,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY AND DUTIFULLY INSCRIBED.

MDCCCXLV.

[Dedication of the First Edition of the Second Volume.]

TO THE MOST REVEREND

JOHN BIRD,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN,

THE SECOND VOLUME OF THIS WORK,

BEGUN UNDER THE SANCTION OF

HIS REVERED PREDECESSOR,

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MDCCCXLVIII.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

The present edition of the following work has been carefully revised throughout, and most of its errors, I hope, are corrected.

Some passages have been transposed; and, in a few others, I have called attention to new matter which has been introduced.

I have endeavoured also to consult the convenience of the reader by making a different arrangement of some of the chapters, by bringing many of the notes and references within narrower compass, and by prefixing a map.

J. S. M. A.

Preacher's Chambers, Lincoln's Inn,
May 29, 1856.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

It is the object of this work to trace the history of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire, from the earliest period in which the attempt was made to acquire any of them, to the present day. The first Volume has only brought the enquiry to the beginning of the reign of Charles the First[1]; and, as this embraces but a small portion of the period which it is proposed to traverse, the reader may probably be alarmed at the almost interminable length of the course which here seems to be opened before him. It is necessary, therefore, to state, that much preliminary matter required to be noticed in this Volume, the examination of which, I trust, will tend greatly to facilitate my future progress. In the first place, the condition of our Transatlantic Colonies in early times, and the trials which the Church in those Colonies had consequently to encounter, reflected, for the most part,

[1] This refers to the first edition of the work. In the present edition, the first Volume embraces a longer period.

the condition and the trials of the Church at home. To save, therefore, the necessity of explaining, in every instance, the causes of strife and difficulty, as they were successively developed in different provinces, I have thought it better, once for all, to trace back the troubled stream to its fountain-head, and to show, that, throughout the course pursued by it for many years, it had borne the fortunes of the whole Nation upon its bosom. In the second place, the work of English Colonization was very slow; and frequent were the failures, and severe the disappointments, before any definite or visible results could be attained. Yet, the notice even of these abortive efforts could not be wholly omitted; because they contain, oftentimes, evidence of the faithful motives which led the rulers of the Church and Nation to make them. Thirdly, the uniform and distinct recognition of the Church in the Charters under which our earliest Colonies were established, has made it impracticable to separate her history, at that time, from the history of the Colonies themselves. It became necessary, therefore, to describe not only the geographical position of the several countries named, but also the varying character of the enterprises which led to our possession of them. In the words of one who was himself a prominent actor in the scenes which he has described, and whose testimony will often be cited in the present Volume, 'as Geography without History seemeth a carkasse without motion, so History without Geography wandreth as a vagrant without a certaine habitation[2].' I have found

[2] Smith's History of Virginia, p. 169.

it, moreover, impossible to gain an adequate knowledge of the spirit which animated many faithful members of the Church in the settlement of our first Colonies, only from those formal histories which recorded the commencement and progress of the work. Numerous other documents, printed and manuscript, were to be consulted; and, although I cannot believe that I have yet examined all, and in many quarters the search has proved fruitless, yet, in others, where I least expected it, valuable and interesting information has been obtained.

For these reasons, I have been led to tarry longer in the review of James the First's reign, than might by some persons have been thought necessary. But I do not regret that I have bestowed so much time upon this part of the subject: and, if the reader should feel, in the perusal of these pages, any portion of that deep interest which I have experienced in analyzing and comparing the documents from which their substance is derived, I shall be cheered by the reflection that my enquiries have not been in vain.

The future progress of the work,—should I be permitted, amid many and pressing avocations, to make it as I wish,—is not likely to be retarded by the operation of those causes to which I have just referred. For, when the Proprietary and Charter governments of the Colonies, settled under James the First, were abolished, at the end of that monarch's reign, by the arbitrary and tyrannical exercise of his prerogative, the chain of historical evidence was thereby broken, and, as a modern historian of Virginia has truly said, 'a black and melancholy chasm

supplies the place of order and arrangement[3].' The want, therefore, of materials created by that single cause, and the inability of the Church to extend her influence to our Colonies, by reason of the vicissitudes through which she herself was soon afterwards made to pass, must necessarily confine a great portion of the remaining history to much narrower limits, than those which I have prescribed to myself in the present Volume. Not, indeed, that evidences of zealous and faithful devotion will be found wanting, throughout an age which is commonly regarded as devoid of them; nor lessons, profitable for correction and instruction, fail to be derived, even from those periods which seem to be most discouraging. Nevertheless, as the points of rest are confessedly fewer, so the intervening space may be traversed more rapidly. I hope, in consequence, to be able to comprise within my second Volume, the whole of that sequel of the history which occurs between the commencement of Charles the First's reign, and the establishment of our first Colonial Bishopric in Nova Scotia, in 1787; and, in the third and concluding Volume, to bring down the course of the narrative to the present day. It is possible, indeed, that further elements of information may be obtained upon some points, and that others, which are already put in order for the press, may be enlarged; but I do not think it probable that any material departure will be made from the plan which I have ventured to mark out[4].

[3] Burk's History of Virginia, ii. 6.

[4] The expectation which I had formed, with respect to this, as

It is right to state, in this place, that, by the use of the term 'Colony,' I intend not to restrict its meaning within the limits of any precise definition, but to employ it in its widest sense. The different signification of the words by which the Colonies of Greece and Rome were designated,—which Adam Smith has justly pointed out as being in accordance with the different character of their respective settlements [5],—together with the various points of interest which mark the system of Colonization pursued by them and by other countries, I propose to examine, more particularly, in a chapter which will be devoted to that purpose, at the end of my second Volume [6]. In Clark's Summary of Colonial Law, 'The British Colonies, or Plantations,' are defined to be 'remote possessions or provinces of this realm, occupied for the purposes of trade or cultivation [7].' If this definition were strictly to be followed, it is evident that the military possessions of Gibraltar and Malta would be excluded [8]. On the other hand, if the possession of territory is alone to give the rule, Honduras would be excluded; since, by treaty of peace with Spain

well as to other portions of the work, has not been borne out by the event; and I acknowledge myself subject to the censure which may be passed upon me for having judged erroneously. I have not thought it right, however, to try and escape such censure by any suppression or alteration of what I had written.

[5] Smith's Wealth of Nations, b. iv. c. vii. See also Brougham's Colonial Policy, i. 36. The Greek word, *ἀποικία*, signifies a separation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the house. The Latin word, *colonia*, signifies simply a plantation, or cultivation of the land.

[6] I have still been obliged to postpone this chapter.

[7] Clark's Summary, &c., p. 1.

[8] See note [1] on the above definition, in the same work, pp. 2, 3.

in 1763, British subjects have only rights of occupation secured to them in that settlement; and, for a long time, it was held not to be a territory belonging to the British Sovereign, within the Navigation Act[9]. For the present, therefore, I prefer taking the word 'Colony' in the sense assigned to it by Johnson, namely, 'A body of people drawn from the Mother-country to inhabit some distant place;' and to apply it, generally, as the most convenient appellation, to denote any foreign possession belonging to, or connected with, the British Empire.

I thankfully avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge the help which, from various quarters, has been extended to me. To the Bishop of London, I am indebted for the privilege of examining the Fulham MSS. Their value has been already proved, by the reference made to them in the second Volume of Dr. Hawks's Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States (Maryland); and, yet more recently, in the present Bishop of Oxford's most interesting History of the American Church. I have found among them other papers, not less valuable, which relate to other Colonies; and have derived from them, as well as from the American Papers, materials for the composition of my second Volume. To the Bishops of Nova Scotia (Dr. John Inglis) and

[9] Ibid. 'According to this decision, ships built at Honduras would not be privileged to engage in the direct trade between the United Kingdom and the British Provinces in America. The recent Navigation Acts have removed this difficulty, and have in terms recognised the settlements at Honduras as British.' Ibid. and Appendix, p. 326.

Montreal (Dr. G. J. Mountain), I am likewise indebted for the hearty encouragement which they have given to my undertaking; for the papers which they have transmitted to me; and for the hope, which they allow me to cherish, of receiving still more information, not only of their respective Dioceses, but of those faithful servants of God, their fathers, who were the first Bishops of our Church in British North America [10]. The communications which I have received also from the friends and relatives of the late excellent Bishop Stewart, of Quebec [11], may be regarded, I trust, as an earnest of yet further particulars which may be obtained, both in England and in Canada, respecting the ministrations of that guileless, affectionate, and devoted servant of Christ. By the present Bishop of Jamaica, I have been favoured with information which I highly value, concerning the two parts of his former Diocese,—Newfoundland and the Bermudas; and look anxiously forward to the intelligence which his Lordship may have it in his power to send me, from that portion of the Colonial Church over which he now presides [12]. From Bishop

[10] Dr. Charles Inglis [who is referred to above] was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787; and Dr. Jacob Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, in 1793. Both these Sees were then, for the first time, erected.

[11] Dr. Charles James Stewart, son of the seventh Earl of Galloway, was consecrated the second Bishop of Quebec in 1826. Upon his retirement from illness, in 1836, Dr. George J. Mountain, son of the first Bishop of Quebec, was consecrated his successor; and, in 1839, West Canada was separated from that See, and constituted the separate Diocese of Toronto.

[12] Dr. Aubrey G. Spencer was consecrated Bishop of Newfoundland, in 1839; and translated to the See of Jamaica, in 1843, upon the death of Dr. Lipscomb, who had been consecrated its first Bishop,

Coleridge, also, I have received the promise of assistance and advice, touching those parts of our West India possessions which formed, under his superintendence, the original Diocese of Barbados[13]: and they who remember the good and effectual service rendered by that Prelate to the Church of Christ, whilst he retained that important charge, will be the first to appreciate the benefit of his counsel[14].

I have been entrusted, moreover, with letters and other papers belonging to persons concerned in the welfare of our Colonial Church; among the most important of which, in earlier times, are letters from Dr. Charles Inglis, the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Chandler, and Dr. Seabury, the first Bishop in America, to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher; and, in later times, those written by, and belonging to, Bishop Turner, of Calcutta, whose career, though brief, was marked at every step by faith and wisdom.

in 1824. The Diocese of Jamaica comprehends, besides that important Island, Honduras and the Bahamas.

[13] The Diocese of Barbados, when Bishop Coleridge was first consecrated to it in 1824, consisted both of the Windward and Leeward Islands and British Guiana. In 1842, when his Lordship resigned the charge of it, it was separated into three Dioceses, namely, that of Barbados, which comprehends the Islands of Barbados, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Carriacou; that of Antigua, which comprehends the Islands of Antigua, Montserrat, Barbuda, St. Kitt's, Nevis, Virgin Isles, and Dominica; and that of British Guiana, which comprehends the united Colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, and the Colony of Berbice.

[14] The remembrance of the valuable services rendered by Bishop Coleridge, upon his return to England, as the first Warden of the College of St. Augustine, Canterbury, quickens our sense of the heavy loss which the Church, abroad and at home, sustained soon afterwards by his death.

The assistance thus afforded to me, relates obviously to those parts of my work which have yet to be completed. In adverting to that which has been of service to me for the present Volume, I beg gratefully to acknowledge the permission which I have received from Sir James Graham, Secretary of State for the Home Department, to consult the papers in the State Paper Office relating to Virginia, and other Colonies which formerly belonged to this Kingdom in North America, and the information which I have thereby obtained[15]. To the Rev. S. R. Maitland, Librarian at Lambeth, I beg also to express my obligation for the help which he afforded me in decyphering the MS. to which I have referred at pp. 167 and 177 in this Volume, and for his readiness in enabling me to examine the other treasures of that Library;—a readiness, which had been already most kindly manifested towards me by my friend, the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, Chaplain to the Archbishop[16]. Through the help of another friend, the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I have gained access to some documents, which I could not find in the British Museum, or any other collection, namely, the Tracts collected by Bishop Kennett, and of which he has given an account in his *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia*. The whole of the Books and Papers recited in this Book were given by the Bishop, as it is stated in its title-page, to the Society, 'for the perpetual use and benefit of their members, their missionaries, friends,

[15] The same permission has been kindly renewed by all subsequent Secretaries of State to whom I have applied.

[16] Now Canon of Canterbury and Archdeacon of Maidstone.

correspondents, and others concerned in the good design of planting and promoting Christianity within her Majesties [Queen Anne's] Colonies and Plantations in the West Indies.' Some, indeed, of these Volumes have been lost, I fear, irretrievably: the remainder, therefore, is only the more precious. Other sources of help have been opened to me by Mr. Hawkins, in the MSS. Volumes belonging to the Society; the value of which will be best understood by those who have read the 'Notices of the Colonial Church,' which he has already derived from them, and which, for some months past, have appeared in the pages of the British Magazine [17].

I am indebted also to the Rev. Joseph Haslegrave, Secretary of the Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, for many particulars respecting the operations of that Society [18].

By Colonel Wyndham, of Petworth, I have been favoured with the loan of several rare works relating to Virginia; some of which seem to have escaped the observation even of Bishop Kennett. And, lastly, by my friend, Archdeacon Hare, I have long been permitted the use of some of those rich stores of his library, without which I should have been frequently at a loss to know how to proceed [19].

[17] It is hardly necessary to remark that these papers have since been republished, with many valuable additions, by Mr. Hawkins, in his Volume entitled 'Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies,' &c.

[18] I have referred, at p. 341 of this Volume, to the union of the Newfoundland School Society in 1851 with the Colonial Church and School Society.

[19] It is impossible to find myself again recording the acknowledg-

Notwithstanding all these aids, I am conscious that the path which I seek to traverse has never yet been thoroughly explored; and that I need guidance, at every step, if I would walk safely unto the end. The guidance, therefore, which I may be permitted to receive from men whose local experience or other opportunities of information enable them to supply it, will not, I trust, be withheld; and I can with truth say, that I desire only to employ their brotherly help in subordination to the legitimate objects which I have proposed to myself in the prosecution of this work.

The nature of these objects, and the spirit in which I desire to attain them, will be better learnt from the tenor of the work itself, than from any professions of mine in this place. Thus much, however, I may here be permitted to state, that, whilst in accordance with its title, I am mainly employed in tracing the history of the Church of England throughout our various Colonies, I neither wish to pass over in silence nor to speak in a jealous or controversial spirit of those who, separated from our communion, are labouring to promote the knowledge of Christianity in the same regions. I do not profess, indeed, to describe fully the operations either of the Roman Catholic Church, or of the various bodies of Protestant Dissent. Such a work is obviously impracticable, and fit only to be classed with those of which Bacon says that they cannot be done 'within the hour-glass of one man's

ment of my gratitude to Archdeacon Hare, and not to give expression to the feelings of reverential love with which I honour the memory of this devoted servant of the Lord.

life[20].' But, as the history of the Church, in any and every place, is the history of her difficulties, and as those difficulties are greatest which arise from the unhappy divisions of the Christian world, the relation of them is unavoidable: it has occupied a large portion of the present Volume, and must continue to occupy a portion of those which are to follow.

I have said, in another part of this Volume[21], that the record of these difficulties, howsoever painful and humiliating, will not be without profit, if, by teaching us to form a true estimate of the services performed, the errors committed, and the perils passed through, by the men of a former generation, we may be the better prepared to endure the trials, and discharge the duties, and surmount the obstacles, which await us in our own. It is the desire to learn and to communicate this needful lesson, which alone has animated me to enter upon the present enquiry. And, in commending this first portion of it to the consideration of others, let me entreat them to consider the vastness of that field of labour, to which their attention, their sympathy, their prayers, are herein directed. It is only a small share of it, indeed, which this Volume presents to their view; and, even of that share, the greater part no longer pays allegiance to those laws which first made it subject to the British Crown. Yet, after all the losses and gains of the last two centuries and a half, what is, at this hour, the extent of the British Empire[22]? Is it not computed

[20] Advancement of Learning, Works, ii. 100.

[21] See p. 97, *post*.

[22] See in the Appendix, No. IV., the return of Colonies (Popu-

to embrace a seventh part of the world's inhabitants, and more than a seventh part of the earth's surface[23]? Does not the foremost of American orators describe it as 'a power to which Rome, in the height of her glory, was not to be compared,—a power which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts,—whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of its martial airs[24]?' These words, assuredly, are not a vain hyperbole, the mere effusions of a glowing, yet unsubstantial, rhetoric: they are words which, not less truly than vividly, depict the actual and ample circuit of our own possessions:—a paraphrase, in fact, of the saying which was literally descriptive of Spain herself in the zenith of her power[25]. Woe be unto us, then, if tokens of the authority of Christ keep not pace with the colossal grandeur of the Empire which can be thus described!

The bare thought is fitted to overwhelm the souls of all who give it access to their hearts. And who

lation, Trade, &c.) ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 20 February, 1845. It must be borne in mind, that, extensive and various as are the places enumerated in this document, it does not include those vast and important regions which are under the government of the East India Company and Hudson's Bay Company.

[23] See Archdeacon Grant's Bampton Lectures, p. 11, and the Tables referred to by him.

[24] Webster's Speeches, quoted in Sir Richard Bonnycastle's Newfoundland, ii. 226.

[25] 'As one saith in a brave kind of expression, the sun never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shines upon one part or other of them.' Bacon's 'Advertisement touching an Holy War.' Works, vii. 123, 124.

can with safety refuse access to it? The prayer "for the peace of" our "Jerusalem," must be the prayer of all who share her blessings and are protected by her power. And if, for their "brethren and companions' sakes," they "wish" her "prosperity," will they not, "because of the house of the Lord" their "God, seek" also "to do" her "good (Ps. cxxii. 6—9)?"

Brighton,
April 14, 1845.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

THE publication of this Volume has been delayed by causes which I could neither foresee nor controul; and it is only left for me to hope, that, if God so will, the remainder of the work may be completed with greater expedition.

It has been found impossible to bring down the history in this Volume beyond the end of William the Third's reign; a period which falls far short of that which I had once hoped to reach. But a careful survey of the ground which has been here traversed, will show, I trust, that I have not tarried too long by the way. The religious and political divisions of England in the seventeenth century,—the effects of which are felt by her to this very hour,—operated, directly and palpably, in every quarter of the globe, to which the knowledge of her name was extended, during that period; and the difficulties, which her Colonial Church had, at the same time, to encounter, would have been very imperfectly repre-

sented, had not their relation with events at home been distinctly pointed out.

It would, doubtless, have been much easier for me to have refrained from describing this relation, and to have directed attention only to the local circumstances of each Settlement. But, the medley of incongruous details, thus presented to the view, would have been most perplexing; and the lessons arising from the contemplation of them, which it is the office of all history to teach, would have been thereby weakened or lost. In the attempt here made to recognize and enforce those lessons, I have found a new interest imparted to some of the most familiar incidents recorded in our National annals, and an explanation supplied of the state of affairs in our different Colonies, which it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain by other means. If the reader should feel the like interest, or be led to admit the like results, it will be my best recompense for the labour which has attended the enquiry.

The number of subjects which it has been necessary to comprise in the present Volume, has compelled me to advert to some of them very briefly, and to defer their fuller description to a later period. For the same reason, I have abstained altogether from introducing an account, which I had prepared, of the Roman Catholic Missions; and intend to give it hereafter.

In addition to those persons, whose help has been acknowledged in the Preface to the First Volume,

I beg to express, upon the present occasion, my thanks to J. P. Mayers, Esq., Q. C., of the Middle Temple; Edward S. Byam, Esq.; J. H. Darrell, Esq., Her Majesty's Attorney-General for the Bermudas; and John D. Dickinson, Esq., Deputy-Secretary of the East India Company, for important information, most kindly communicated to me by them, on points connected with the West Indies, the Bermudas, and India. I gratefully acknowledge, also, the words of cheering encouragement which have reached me from Virginia; and trust that they may be regarded as an earnest of the help, which I am most anxious to receive from all who, in different quarters of the globe, may be disposed to aid me with their information and counsel.

Brighton,
October 16, 1848.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

The duties of an extensive Parish, which have devolved upon me since the publication of the second Volume of this work, have for a long time interrupted its further progress.

Difficulties also inherent in the subject, which have increased as I advance, have retarded it not a little. The many adverse influences, at home and abroad, whose origin and earlier growth have been traced in the preceding Volumes, were felt, as they became fully developed, in every quarter of the Colonial Church; and a mass of conflicting evidence is connected with the consideration of them, which it was impossible to overlook, and has been no easy task to analyze. Whilst, therefore, in some instances, I have been necessarily led to connect the notice of former events with those of recent date, I have not attempted to bring down the general course of the History in this Volume to a later period of the eighteenth century than that which immediately followed the Declaration of Independence by the United States.

For the same reason, I have been constrained wholly to omit the relation of some very important

events within the same period;—such, for instance, as the ministry of Swartz in India. A sketch, indeed, of what was done in India by Danish and other Missionaries, aided by the Church of England, before the time of Swartz, has been attempted in the twenty-first chapter. But I have found it quite impossible to include within the present Volume any adequate description of the work done by Swartz himself; of the condition and belief of the people among whom he laboured; or of the Missions carried on by the Jesuits and others in the same country, before or during his time.

Materials for this and other portions of the history of the eighteenth century, not noticed in this Volume, have been for some time prepared by me; and, should my other avocations permit me to go on with the work, their publication will follow.

Meanwhile, I have endeavoured to make the work, as far as it now extends, a separate and independent History of the Colonial Church, throughout the period which it professes to review; and, with this design, have added a full and general index to the three Volumes.

The remarks upon the proceedings of Convocation in the last century (pp. 7—17), were printed before those of the present Convocation were known, or the last sentence in p. 13 would have been differently expressed [1].

J. S. M. A.

Tormarton Rectory, Gloucestershire,
October 13, 1855.

[1] It has been altered, accordingly, in this edition.

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ERRATUM.

Page 7, line 7, *for* Roll's *read* Rolls.

THE

HISTORY,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

ATTEMPTS OF ENGLAND TOWARDS COLONIZATION, FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. TO THE END OF MARY'S REIGN.

A.D. 1496—1558.

Cabot's first voyage, under Henry VII.

Lord Bacon, in his history of Henry VII., describes in the following terms the attempts of England towards colonization, in different periods of that King's reign. Speaking of certain events which took place, in the 14th year after his accession, he adds,

'Somewhat before this time, there fell out a memorable accident: there was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man, seeing the success, and emulating, perhaps, the enterprise of Christopher Columbus, in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been made by him some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west.—This Gabato, bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to

man and victual a ship at Bristol, for the discovery of that island; with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return, and made a card thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and a half, finding the seas open.'

The achievement of Columbus, we are told, upon the same authority, 'sharpened the king so,' that, not only in this voyage, but, again, in the 16th and 18th years of his reign, he issued new commissions 'for the discovery and investing of unknown lands [1].'

These enterprises were the first direct steps taken by England towards the discovery and acquisition of those Colonies, which now form so vast a portion of her empire in the world. Numerous instances, indeed, of hardihood and successful energy had been displayed by British mariners, in earlier epochs of our history: and the successes, obtained against Danish invaders by Alfred, the first English King who established a naval force; the terror, which the fleet of the lion-hearted Richard struck into the hearts of kings and their armies, assembled at Messina, when it entered that port on its course to Palestine; the victory, achieved by the third Edward, upon the Flemish coast, over the thronging squadrons of the French; are among the many witnesses to tell us, that, throughout a period in which the appliances and means of navigation were yet in their infancy, there were not wanting the

[1] Bacon's Works, iii. 355—357. The card or map here mentioned of Cabot's discoveries is said by Hakluyt, iii. 27, to have been 'cut by Clement Adams,' and 'to be seene in Her Maiesties privie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.' The map, which has long since been lost, bore date 1549. Purchas's Pilgrims, iii. 807.

spirit to contrive, and the hand to execute, great deeds of naval prowess[2]. But such exploits had been confined, with few exceptions, to the shores of Great Britain, or those of the nearest continent. They were neither actuated by such causes, nor directed to such ends, as those which were avowedly put forth in the commissions, granted by Henry VII., 'for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.'

Nor yet must it be supposed, that, when the philosophic historian, whose words I have cited, speaks of this enterprise as 'a memorable accident,' which then 'fell out,' he intended thereby any sympathy with men, who, in carelessness or unbelief, so often hide, beneath that or similar expressions, all acknowledgment of God's controuling hand. For, in the very next passage of the same work, descriptive of an event which, from causes apparently trifling, produced most important results, he represents it likewise as an 'accident,' which 'fell out by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto His will, and hangeth great weights upon small wires.' And it is because the train of historic incident, which I propose to contemplate in the present work, presents the most signal commentary upon the truth of this declaration; and shows, in a remarkable manner, how 'small' have been the 'wires' upon which, through 'God's wonderful providence,' the 'great weights' of this empire now hang; that I desire, sincerely and unreservedly, to make, at the outset, the same acknowledgment of the sacred principle which it involves, and to bear it faithfully in mind, as each chequered scene passes in review before me.

[2] Campbell's Lives of British Admirals; Southey's Naval History; and the first volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, passim.

Patent granted to him.

The first Patent, granted by Henry to Gabato, or, as he is more commonly called, Cabot, bears date March 5, 1496, the 11th year of his reign[3]; and, by virtue of it, he and his comrades were empowered to sail, under the English flag, to all parts of the east, west, and north, to seek out whatsoever isles or provinces were before unknown to the Christian world, and to occupy the same, themselves and their heirs, as the King's vassals and lieutenants. The Patent is addressed, not to Sebastian Cabot, solely or principally, but, in the first instance, to John his father, and then to Lewis, his elder, to him-

[3] There is some difficulty in reconciling this date, with that specified in the above extract from Lord Bacon, since the discovery of Columbus was in 1492, and Cabot's first commission is dated, not 'some six years,' (as Bacon states it,) but four years afterwards. It is probable that Bacon referred to the second commission, which bore date in 1498; and, if any should object to this supposition, that Bacon mentions only the name of Sebastian, and not of John Cabot, to whom it was granted, the objection may be met, by considering that Sebastian actually commanded the second expedition; and that the fame which he acquired, in after years, was great enough to eclipse that of every other member of his family. Another difficulty, respecting the date of this commission, should be here noticed; namely, that the 11th year of Henry VII., in which the commission was issued, is marked by Hakluyt, iii. 25, as 1495, and by Rymer, Fœdera, xii. 595, as 1496. But this apparent confusion of dates arises from the fact, that, by the former, the time is computed according to the historical year, which begins on the 1st of January; and, by the latter, according to the civil, ecclesiastical, or legal year, which, until the end of the 14th century, began at Christmas; after that time, on the 25th of March, and so continued until January 1, 1753. Henry began his reign in August, 1485. Hence the date assigned by Rymer is the correct one. Nicolas's Chronology of History, 41, 42. Chalmers, in his Political Annals of the United Colonies, justly calls this commission of Henry to the Cabots, 'the most ancient American state-paper of England.'

self, and to Sancius, his younger brother. It provides, that, after the deduction of their expenses, the fifth part of all their profits should be paid to the King; that Bristol should be the only port at which their cargoes were to be delivered; that they should be exempt from the payment of customs upon all such merchandise as should be brought from the newly-discovered countries; and that no other English subjects should be allowed to visit the places occupied by them and their heirs, except with their consent, under pain of the forfeiture of property. The expedition sailed in the spring of 1497; and, having pursued a westerly course, came in sight of land on the 24th of June, St. John Baptist's day[4]. The crew of the ship "Matthew," of Bristol, have the distinction of being its first discoverers[5]. The Venetian

[4] 'In the yeere of our Lord 1497, Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian, (with an English fleet set out from Bristol,) discouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune, about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima Vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land, he called the island of S. Iohn vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist.' I am aware that, in assigning the discovery of the island of Newfoundland to this first voyage of the Cabots, I have made a statement which has sometimes been disputed; and I admit that the discrepancies to be found in some of the accounts respecting it, fully justify this difference of opinion. Nevertheless, after the most careful examination of every work upon the subject to which I could gain access, I believe the statement which I have given in the text to be correct. See Hakluyt, iii. 27.

[5] See an extract to this effect, at p. 79, of Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, from two histories of Bristol there cited. This interesting and ingenious memoir is much disfigured by its unfair notices of Hakluyt, a refutation of which is given in Tytler's

leaders hailed the land with the title of Prima Vista; but, in the more familiar accents of our own mother-tongue, it was called, and has ever since retained the name of, NEWFOUNDLAND. They stayed there but a short time; and, having taken three of the natives on board their vessels, proceeded on their voyage, eager to verify the conjecture which they, like Columbus, entertained, that a passage to the East Indies was to be found in that direction. The attempt was fruitless; each creek and inlet of the rugged and indented shore, which soon afterwards opened upon their sight, was explored, but in vain; and, having run along a great extent of the great western continent, from Labrador southwards, they returned to England, without attempting to avail themselves of any of the powers of settlement granted to them.

Discovery of Newfoundland and part of America.

Some have thought, that, by the term Newfoundland, applied to the regions then first discovered, we are to understand, not the Island now known by that name, but, generally, that portion of America along which the mariners coasted. A careful examination, however, of the different authorities upon the subject, will show, that although the generic appellation of Newfoundland was, no doubt, extended to that continent, it was, in the first instance, conferred upon the Island which has ever since retained it. It may be regarded, too, as some confirmation of the correctness of this opinion, that the inhabitants of Newfoundland still commemorate the 24th of June, as the day of its discovery by Cabot. An account also of the Privy

Appendix to his Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, 417—444.

Purse expenses of Henry VII., compiled some years ago, and now among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum, contains several entries which tend to establish the same point [6].

Other Patents granted in 1498 and in 1501-2.

A second Patent was granted by Henry VII., February 3, 1498, the original of which has lately been found in the Rolls' Chapel. It is addressed solely to John Cabot, the father, and express reference is made therein 'to the londe and isles of late founde by the said John in' the 'name and by' the 'commandmente of the king:' a signal confirmation of the statement already made, that the Island of Newfoundland had been discovered in the first voyage of the Cabots. The expedition, which sailed by virtue of this commission, was commanded by his son Sebastian; and it is to this voyage, in which he again visited Newfoundland, and called it Terra de Baccalaos, from the name of the fish which he found there in great abundance, that the account, given by Peter Martyr, the historian of the New World, is supposed to refer. Two similar commissions were afterwards issued by Henry, for the purpose of discovering and annexing, under certain conditions, to the British crown the unexplored regions of the west.

[6] Hakluyt, iii. 27; Bonnycastle's Newfoundland, i. 51; Nicolas's Excerpta Historica, 85—133. Some curious entries given by the latter are here subjoined: '1497, Aug. 10. To hym that found the New Isle, £10.—1496, March 24. To Lanslot Thirkill of London, upon a prest for his shipp going towards the New Ilande, £20.—April 1. To Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkil, going to the New Isle, £30.—1503, Sept. 30. To the merchants of Bristoll that have been in the Newfounde Launde, £20.—1504, Oct. 17. To one that brought hawkes from the Newfounded Island, £1.—1505, Aug. 25. To Clays goying to Richemount with wylde catts and popyngays of the Newfound Island for his costs, 13*s.* 4*d.*'

The first, dated March 19, 1501-2, was granted, during the brief Chancellorship of the then Bishop of Salisbury, to certain merchants of Bristol and others therein named; the second is dated December 9, 1502, and recites, with a few alterations, the names of the same parties[7].

No permanent settlements formed.

No permanent settlements were made, in consequence of such commissions, in any of the regions then discovered. Neither did the King, during the few remaining years of his reign, authorize any further expeditions. The danger attending them was certain; their success was doubtful; and his attention was called away too frequently to struggle with and overcome difficulties at home, to allow him either time or power, even if he had possessed the inclination, to plunge voluntarily into others abroad. His caution, also, and sagacity, and, above all, his dread of incurring any expenditure, which seemed not likely to secure an immediate and large return, were sufficient checks against the indulgence of any such inclination. It is possible, moreover, that he might have been influenced by the danger of coming into collision with foreign powers, especially those whose alliance he most anxiously courted, if he approached too nearly the borders of those territories which the Papal See, by a most unwarrantable assumption of authority, had already conferred upon them. By a bull of Pope Eugene IV., an exclusive grant had been made, in 1438, to the crown of Portugal, of all the countries which might be discovered between Cape Non (now called Bojador, seven degrees

[7] Cabot's Memoir, ut sup. 76. 107. 312. 320; Rymer's Fœd. xiii. 37—42; Pet. Mart. de Orbe Novo, Decas Tertia, 232; Tytler's Historical View, &c., 26.

south of Gibraltar) and the continent of India; and, in 1493, the regions of the western hemisphere were declared, by a decree of Pope Alexander VI., to belong to the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon[8]. But the improbability of success from his own enterprises swayed with Henry more powerfully than the fear of opposition from any other quarter. The terms of the various commissions which I have cited, fully show that he was prepared, if need were, to have incurred the risk of any opposition; and that, had the object of attraction been sufficiently defined, he would have felt no scruple or hesitation in making himself master of regions to which, by natural right, he had as little claim as those sovereigns, whose authority to possess them rested only upon the fiat of the Vatican.

Henry VIII. unable to prosecute many similar enterprises.

His son and successor, Henry VIII., made no extensive efforts to discover or acquire foreign possessions. Nor can the reader of general history be at a loss to remember the causes which deterred him from making them. The contests abroad with his rivals of France and Spain, and the Reformation at home, with its causes and consequences, are sufficient of themselves to tell us what conflicting interests, what formidable dangers, what violent agitations there were, which, throughout that long reign, occupied the attention of the King and nation. But, although thus shut out generally from the public mind, the attempts to carry

[8] In order not to interfere with the previous grant made to Portugal, an imaginary line was supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores; all to the east of which was bestowed upon the Portuguese, and all to the west upon the Spaniards. Robertson's America, Works, viii. 68. 160; Chalmers's Political Annals, 10.

on the discoveries, which in the former reign had been begun, were not wholly laid aside. We find, accordingly, that, in the 8th year of his reign, Henry 'furnished and set forth certen shippes, under the governance of Sebastian Cabot,' to explore the western world. And Eden, the friend of Cabot, and translator of the work of Sebastian Munster, to which we are principally indebted for a knowledge of this expedition, states, in his dedication to the Earl of Northumberland, that it failed only through want of courage on the part of a rival officer, Sir Thomas Perte, who had a share with Cabot in the command of the fleet.

Expedition in 1517.

'Had it not been for his faint-heartedness,' are the words of Eden, 'it mighte happelye have come to passe that that rich treasurye, called Perularia, (which is now in Spayne, in the citie of Civile [Seville], and so named, for that in it is kepte the infinite ryches brought thither from the Newfoundland of Peru,) myght longe since have been in the Tower of London, to the kinge's great honoure and welth of this his realme [9].'

We have no means of ascertaining in what way this want of courage, imputed to the naval commander of this expedition, was supposed to operate; but, if it were the means of preventing Englishmen from the commission of those deeds of violence and blood in Peru, which soon afterwards were enacted there by Pizarro and his armies, we may be thankful in the reflection, that, whatsoever other burdens rest upon our country for unworthy treatment of foreign lands, she is at least free from this reproach; and that, let the silver and the gold, heaped up in the coffers of Seville, have been what they might, it was well for

[9] Cabot's Memoir, 103; Hakluyt, iii. 591.

England that treasures, thus unrighteously obtained, were not lodged in the stronghold of her metropolis.

With respect to the designs, formed in this reign, towards the acquisition of foreign territories, we may notice a memorial from Robert Thorne, an English merchant, who resided at Seville[10], in 1527, urging the King to take in hand a scheme which he proposed to his consideration, with reference to that object. He pointed to the north, as the quarter in which Henry ought to prosecute his discoveries; since 'out of Spaine,' he said, 'they haue discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall; and out of Portingall, all the Indies and Seas Orientall; so that by this part of the Orient and Occident, they haue compassed the world.' He recommended also three courses which the voyagers might pursue; the first to the north-east, which would lead them, as he supposed, to 'the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the mid-day,' and thence 'to the land of the Chinas, and the land of Cathaio Orientall,' from which, if they continued their navigation, they might 'fall in with Malaca,' and return to England 'by the Cape of Buona Speransa.' The second course was to the north-west, which would lead them, he said, 'by the back of the new found land, which of late was discouered by your Grace's subjects;' and, pursuing which, they might 'returne, thorow the streight of Magellan,' (which had been discovered six years before,) to their own country. The third course, recommended by him, was over the North Pole, after passing which, he suggested that

Memorial from Robert Thorne, an English merchant at Seville.

[10] Fuller gives an interesting account of Thorne, in his Worthies of England (Somersetshire, 36).

they should 'goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline towards the lands and Islands situated between the Tropikes, and vnder the equinoctiall,' and 'without doubt they shall finde there the richest lands and islands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other things that we here esteeme most[11].' There appeared, therefore, no lack of bold and ingenious counsel, according to the degree of knowledge at that time possessed, and no small prospect of temporal advantage, which might have stimulated Henry to attempt the acquisition of foreign lands, had other circumstances favoured the design.

But, whilst he refrained from entering upon any systematic course of action with reference to such schemes, his subjects ventured upon various commercial enterprises[12], in the prosecution of which he

[11] Hakluyt, i. 235—237.

[12] Two vessels, one of which was named the 'Dominus Vobiscum,' are stated by Hakluyt, iii. 167, to have gone in May, 1527, in consequence of Thorne's Memorial, on a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland and Cape Breton, but returned in the autumn of the same year without any success. Purchas, likewise, in his Pilgrims, iii. 809, speaks of two ships sent forth by Henry, in 1527, to explore some of the regions which Thorne had pointed out. One of these, he says, was lost off Newfoundland; and the letter, written to the King by John Rut, the master of the other vessel, describing his condition, is given at length. The letter may perhaps justify the description of it by Purchas, namely, that it is 'in bad English and worse writing:' nevertheless, its simplicity and evident truthfulness are quite touching. It is dated from the haven of St. John, Aug. 3, 1527, thus bearing witness to the name, said to have been first given by Cabot to that part of the Island discovered in 1497, and furnishing perhaps the earliest record extant of the present capital of Newfoundland. He describes it as a good haven, and says that he found therein 'eleven saile of Normans, and one Brittaine, and two Portugall barks, and all a fishing.'

In 1536, another effort was made to settle in Newfoundland, by

was careful to extend to them every encouragement and protection. To the coast of Guinea, for example, at least one voyage had been made as early as the year 1530, by Captain Hawkins, father of Sir John; and, in 1536, the English competed successfully with the Portuguese in their trade upon that coast, bringing home gold-dust and elephants' teeth. The English trade with the Levant also may be dated from a still earlier period; and, in 1513, Henry appointed a consul at Scio to watch over and protect its interests. A letter, moreover, is extant, addressed by Henry VIII. in 1531 to King John of Portugal, in which he complains of certain injuries inflicted by the Portuguese upon the agents of John Gresham, merchant of London, in their trade with the islands of Candia and Scio, and demands reparation for the same. Henry acknowledges, in this letter, the high sense which he entertained of John's character, by reason of 'the daily testimonie' given by his own subjects who trafficked in his dominions. This 'daily testimonie,' it is evident, implied the frequent and intimate communications, then existing between the merchants of England and those of the continent of Europe; and the vigilance, exercised by Henry in their behalf, was a duty, to which he was of course prompted both by justice and by policy[13].

Increasing trade of the English to the coast of Guinea and the Levant.

'Master Robert Hore, and divers other gentlemen,' who, with their respective crews, manned 'two tall ships, The Trinity, and The Minion,' for the expedition; but famine and fatigue carried them all off, says one, from whose narrative the particulars are recorded by Hakluyt, iii. 168—170.

[13] Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 46. 80; Hakluyt, ii. 206—208.

Ministrations of the Church of England in Calais, our only foreign possession, at the time of the Reformation.

But the protection afforded by Henry to those of his subjects whose pursuits led them beyond the coasts of England, was not confined to their temporal interests. Calais was, at that time, the sole foreign possession of the English crown; and, to the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of that city, Archbishop Cranmer strove successfully to direct the thoughts and aid of his sovereign. He would not that the great work of the Reformation should be marred by coldness and carelessness of heart towards those, who, although separated by a short distance of place, were yet to be made partakers of the same spiritual, as they already were of the same civil, privileges. That work, of which the causes had been long operating, commenced formally in the 23rd year of Henry's reign, 1532,—the year in which Cranmer was nominated to the See of Canterbury [14],—by the enactment of the statute for restraining the payment of annates or first-fruits, and other payments of a temporal character for bulls, pensions, annuities, &c., which had been unlawfully and tyrannically exacted by the court of Rome. Liberty had been granted, under this statute, to the Pope, to redress, if he thought fit, the grievances complained of; in default of which, the King was empowered to restrain the said payments: and this confirmation of its provisions was accordingly made, in the next year, by Letters Patent which recite the statute [15]. Other like statutes

[14] He was not consecrated until March 30, 1533, more than seven months after the death of his predecessor, Warham. Le Bas's Cranmer, i. 55.

[15] Burnet's History of the Reformation, i. 191, 192, and iv. 58—60, where the Act is given at length. For an account of the

followed, providing that all causes should be heard and decided by the legitimate tribunals in England; that the appeals respecting them should be no longer addressed to Rome; and that the exactions, which the court of Rome imposed concerning the payment of Peter's-pence and dispensations, should cease[16]. Finally, in 1534, that Act was passed, which put an end to the Papal supremacy in England, and gave to the King and his council power to order and reform all indulgences and privileges (or the abuses of them) which had been granted by the See of Rome[17]. The passing of these various statutes, was the concurrent act of the Church and of the State. It was so declared by the voice of her Bishops and Abbots in Parliament; the only exception being that of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. It was acknowledged by the consent of all ranks of her Clergy in the provincial synods of Canterbury and York; argued and determined in both our Universities, and other ecclesiastical bodies; and received and established in full Parliament by the free consent of all orders of the kingdom[18]. The work, to which they thus put their hand, was the lawful and valid suppression of wrong, which

intolerable extortions and excessive rapine of the court of Rome, and its extreme violations of all sorts of rights, civil and ecclesiastical, see Archbishop Bramhall's Just Vindication of the Church of England, Works, i. 180—184; and for an account of the scale of prices for Papal dispensations and indulgences, &c. see Marchand's Dictionnaire Historique, (Art. Taxæ Sac. et Can.)

[16] 24 Henry VIII. c. 12, and 25 Henry VIII. c. 19. 25 Henry VIII. c. 21.

[17] 26 Henry VIII. c. 1. This Act was confirmed and extended by 28 Henry VIII. c. 16 and 10. Burnet, i. 236, 237; Bramhall, i. 117.

[18] Burnet, i. 234; Bramhall, i. 114, 115. 121.

an usurped authority had imposed upon the nation; the open vindication and restoration of truth, to which the Universal Church had ever borne witness.

Letters of Cranmer respecting them.

At such a crisis, it is interesting and instructive to mark the conduct of England towards the only foreign possession which then belonged to her. In the year following that which witnessed the last and most important change among the many which have been adverted to, Cranmer thus writes to Cromwell, expressing his intention of sending two chaplains to Calais:

'Right worshipful Master Secretary, I commend me heartily to you: likewise praying you to have in your good remembrance the contents of such of my letters, as I of late sent unto you, for the King's Grace's letters to be obtained and directed to the Lord Deputy of Calise, and other his Grace's Counsellors there, in the favour of two such chaplains of mine, as I intend to send thither with all speed, to preach the Word of God; whom I would have sent thither before this time, if I might have had the said letters, for which this bearer doth only repair unto you for expedition therein, whom I pray you to dispatch as soon as you may. From Knoll, the 22. day of January, [1535.]

'Your own assured ever,

'Thomas Cantuar.

'To the Worshipful and my very loving friend Master Crumwell, Secretary to the King's most noble Grace.'

The same matter was urged by the Archbishop, in another form, in a second letter to Cromwell, towards the end of the same year:

'Right Worshipful, in my most hearty-wise I commend me unto you. And whereas among other of the King's dominions, within this his realm, there is no part (in my opinion) that more needeth good instruction of the word of God, or aid of learned curates to be resident, than doth the town and marches of Calice, considering

specially, not alonely the great ignorance and blindness, as well of the heads now resident there, as of the common and vulgar people, in the doctrine and knowledge of Scripture, but also having respect unto the universal concourse of aliens and strangers, which daily diverteth and resorteth thither, I think that it will no less be a charitable and godly deed than a singular commodity for this realm, to have in those parties at the least two learned persons planted and settled there by the King's authority in some honest living, whose sincerity in conversation of living and teaching shall shortly (no doubt) clearly extinct and extirpate all manner of hypocrisy, false faith, and blindness of God and his word, wherein now the inhabitants there be altogether wrapt, to the no little slander (I fear me) of this realm and prejudice of the good and laudable Acts[19] lately conceived by the King's Grace and his high Court of Parliament; which thing to reform lieth much in you, in case you will but move the King's Highness, (forasmuch as the collations of the benefices there belongeth unto his Grace,) to give them as they fall, unto such men as be both able and willing to do God and his Grace acceptable service in discharging of their cures.

'In consideration hereof, and inasmuch as I am advertised that the parsonage of St. Peter's besides Calice, is like shortly to be void, and in the King's Grace's disposition, I beseech you either to obtain the same for Master Garret, whose learning and conversation is known to be right good and honest, or else for some other as is so able and willing to discharge the same as he is. Wherein I assure you that you shall accomplish a right meritorious deed before God, and deserve condign thanks hereafter of your prince for promoting of so great a commodity for his realm.

'And whereas, I am informed that the curate of St. Mary's within Calice, intendeth to make suit unto you for the said benefice; I pray you not to regard his suit, for I hear that he is nothing meet for that room, specially in this world of reformation.—At Otterforde the viiith day of October.

'Your own ever assured,

'T. Cantuarien.

'To the Right Worshipful and my singular good friend, Mr. Secretary.'

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[19] Namely, the various Acts against the authority of the Pope, passed in the Sessions of January and November, 1534.

Similar evidences of Cranmer's desire to promote the spiritual welfare of Calais, may be traced in the efforts which he made, a few years afterwards, to appoint an efficient Commissary, and to secure the proper reading of the Holy Scriptures, in that city. Again, in 1538, he recommended that Nicolas Bacon,—who was afterwards, in the reign of Elizabeth, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and father of the great Lord Bacon,—should be appointed Town Clerk of Calais. And the ground upon which Cranmer recommended Bacon to that office is expressly stated to have been, that he knew him 'entirely to be both of such towardness in the law, and of so good judgment touching Christ's religion, that in that stead he shall be able to do God and the King right acceptable service [20].'

Reflection thereon.

All this demonstrates the anxiety and care with which the spiritual interests of the one foreign city, possessed at that time by England, were watched over and promoted by the spiritual and temporal rulers of her Reformed Church. And the fact should be gratefully remembered.

Evidences of the like faithful spirit will be found to characterize the effort made, in the next and short reign of Edward VI., to extend the intercourse and commerce of England with foreign countries. The plan then acted upon failed, it is true, to accomplish its ulterior and avowed object, namely, that of reaching the Asiatic continent by the north-east passage; and the leader of the expedition, and most of his followers, perished. But, as the character of enterprises such as these is not always to be determined by their

[20] Jenkyns's Edition of Cranmer's Remains, i. 126. 144—146. 273. 283.

results, so the issue, however disastrous, of any scheme of man's device, should not make us forget the principles, from which it derived its origin, or the agents, by whom its course of operation was directed.

State of the Church and Nation under Edward VI.

And, certainly, when we call to mind the state of the Church and Nation during that period, and remember that the struggles, experienced in effecting the various acts of the Reformation, which the preceding reign had witnessed, were followed by a large share of those blessings, which have survived the many trials which have since assailed them, and are the inheritance of our Church at this day, it is matter of no ordinary moment to observe in what manner they, who first shared the blessings, were mindful of the responsibilities which accompanied them. The abolition of the Papal supremacy had been followed by the rejection of the doctrine of purgatory, of indulgences, of the worshipping of saints and images, and of the constrained celibacy of the Clergy. The Scriptures were translated, read, and expounded to the people; the cup was no longer withheld from any communicants, in the administration of the Supper of the Lord; and, in all the other offices of public devotion, the prayers and praises of the assembled worshippers were repeated no longer in a foreign, but in their native, tongue.

These were among the mercies which, after many a fierce conflict, were secured to the Church of England, in that day of her Reformation; and we thankfully record them, yea, hold in affectionate remembrance the names of those faithful servants of God who gained and transmitted them to us. We dare not, in our own day of difficulty and strife, increase the weight of our burdens by disparaging or reproach-

ing the work of their hands. True, the record of that work is marred and blotted by many a token of infirmity, of fraud, of violence, on the part of some who directed its course. But, if it be God's high prerogative to bring good out of evil, and to make even "the fierceness of man turn to" His "praise" (Ps. lxxvi. 10), it is the accomplishment of that result which should lead us the more carefully to cherish His gifts. True, the estrangement between Christian Churches is most painful; yet we must remember that 'it is not the separation, but the cause, that makes a schismatic.' And if, as we have seen already, the act or statute of our separation from the Court of Rome did not create a new right, but only manifested and restored the old one; if the whole history of the contest shows that, in no one point, can heresy or schism be proved against us; if our separation from the Church, as well as from the Court, of Rome, was not our act, but theirs, the necessary consequence of their unjust and tyrannical censures, excommunications, and interdictions; if 'we have not separated ourselves, simply and absolutely, from the communion of any particular church whatsoever, even the Roman itself, so far forth as it is Catholic, but only from their errors, wherein they had first separated themselves from their predecessors [21]', then it is clearly our duty

[21] Bramhall's Vindication, &c. i. 113. 128. 257; Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, ii. 253. In another part of his Vindication, i. 199, 200, Bramhall adds, 'We do not arrogate to ourselves either a new church, or a new religion, or new holy orders; for then we must produce new miracles, new revelations, and new cloven tongues, for our justification. Our religion is the same it was, our church the same it was, our holy orders the same they were in substance, differing only from what they were formerly, as a garden weeded from a garden unweeded; or a

to dwell, not upon the evils which accompanied, but upon the blessings which have followed, our separation from Rome; and we should regard our present state, among the Churches of Christendom, as one which God hath favoured with His especial mercy,—a state, which must not be brought into jeopardy by our self-will or waywardness.

Let us turn, then, to contemplate the manner in which those spiritual and temporal rulers of our Church who were first called to this state, sought to hold intercourse with foreign lands; and we shall find, in the plans which they devised for the accomplishment of that object, a proof that they were really mindful of the high trust committed to them. Theirs was not, as we have seen in the reign of the seventh Henry, the putting forth the strong arm of avarice to grasp territories not their own; or, as in the case of Portugal and Spain, the sheltering such unjust annexations of distant provinces under the impious decrees of Romish pontiffs. Not by such impulses or such pleas were Edward and his counsellors directed, when they looked abroad towards distant and unknown countries. They were only anxious to secure, by just and honourable means, the interchange of the productions of those countries with their own. The commerce, with that part of the western hemisphere which had

body purged, from itself before it was purged. And therefore, as we presume not to make new articles of faith, much less to obtrude such innovations upon others, so we are not willing to receive them from others, or to mingle scholastical opinions with fundamental truths, which hath given occasion to some to call our religion a negative religion; not considering that our positive articles are those general truths, about which there is no controversy. Our negation is only of human controverted additions.'

hitherto been almost the only part explored by Englishmen, namely, Newfoundland, and which was already beginning to furnish profitable employment to our mariners and merchants, Edward sought, in the earliest years of his reign, to regulate by salutary enactments [22]. And the measures, which he soon afterwards adopted for the purpose of opening an intercourse with countries in the opposite quarter of the world, bore no less evidently the character of wisdom and faithfulness.

His Letters Missive to the rulers of the north-east of Europe.

Distinct testimony to this fact is furnished in the Letters Missive, which, in the last year of his reign, he caused to be written, in Greek and other languages as well as in English, and addressed to the potentates of the north-east of Europe. He had undertaken to send a fleet, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in that direction, by a passage then deemed practicable, with the purpose of proceeding ultimately to Cathay or China; and, in these letters, he reminds the princes to whom he wrote, that,

'As the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankinde, aboue all other liuing creatures, such an heart and desire, that euery man desireth to ioine friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, also to giue and receiue mutual benefites; it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shew this good affection to such, as beeing moued with this desire, come vnto them from farre countreis.'

The enterprises, therefore, of 'marchants, who, wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea,' ought to be regarded, he told them, with especial interest and favour;

'For the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for man-

[22] Hakluyt, iii. 170.

kinde, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the ende that one should haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendship might be established among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all.'

He then commended to the care of all, who had rule in those unknown regions with which his subjects were then about to open intercourse, those to whom he had given his royal license to undertake the work; and entreated them, for the sake of 'all humanitie and for the nobilitie which' was in them, 'to ayde and helpe his trusty servants with such things as they lacked,

'Receiuing againe of them such things as they shall bee able to giue in recompense. Shew yourselues so towards them,' are his words, 'as you would that we and our subiects should shewe ourselues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions[23].'

Cabot's excellent instructions to Willoughby's fleet.

The instructions, also, which Cabot drew up for the guidance and management of the fleet appointed to carry these Letters Missive, supply further evidence of the faithful spirit with which this expedition was designed. That celebrated navigator was now in the evening of his life. The energies of his earliest manhood, we have seen, had been enlisted in the service of England; and, after the lapse of many years, which were employed by him in the high office of Pilot Major under the crown of Spain, in extending the possessions of that country in South America[24], he returned to England,

[23] Hakluyt, i. 257, 258.

[24] During Cabot's residence at Madrid, he became the companion and friend of Peter Martyr, the historian of the New World. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that this Peter Martyr must not be confounded with the celebrated Divine of the same

and made it once more his home. He was introduced to the notice of Edward by the Protector Somerset; received from him, in addition to a pension and other pecuniary grants, the office of Grand Pilot of England; and also that of Governor of 'the mysterie and companie of the marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen.' Cabot was greatly in the King's confidence, and constantly consulted by him in all matters relating to navigation and commerce. The expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby owed its design entirely to him[25]; and the code of instructions for the fleet was drawn up by his own hand. The ships, composing the fleet, were three in number; the Bona Esperanza, 120 tons burden, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, captain general; the Edward Bonaventura, 160 tons burden, commanded by Richard Chancelor, Pilot major; and the Bona Confidentia, 90 tons, Cornelius Durfoorth, Master. Twelve counsellors were also appointed for the expedition, among whom I notice the name of 'Master Richard Stafford, Minister,' whose duties are especially insisted upon in Cabot's code of instructions. After setting forth therein divers rules for the navigation and internal management of the ships,—rules marked by consummate prudence, shrewdness, and sagacity,—Cabot enjoined the two following, which I quote for the purpose of showing the spirit with which they who, stood in the high places of the

name, who, on the invitation of Cranmer, settled in England, during the reign of Edward VI., and was appointed to the theological professorship at Oxford, about the same time that Martin Bucer was appointed to the like office at Cambridge.

[25] Hakluyt, iii. 31. Strype's Eccles. Memor. iii. 296; iv. 76. 217. Burnet's Reformation, ii. 357.

earth, in that day, were actuated, and the pains which they took to provide for all, who went abroad to foreign lands, the same privileges and means of spiritual help which were enjoyed and exercised by themselves at home.

Their religious character.

'12. Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be vsed in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vngodly talke to be suffred in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diuelish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely pouertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter destruction of the parties, and prouoking of God's most iust wrath, and sworde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagion of vices, and sinnes to be eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to bee punished at the discretion of the captaine and master as appertaineth.

'13. Item, that the morning and euening prayer, with other common seruices appointed by the king's Maiestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in euery ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read deuoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly.'

One more extract may be given from the last item, in which, having exhorted them to chasten 'charitably, with brotherly loue,' every symptom of strife and confusion which might arise among them, and to be obedient 'not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, vnder whose merciful hand navigants aboue all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, and vicine, but also for worldly and prudent pollicie,' &c., the venerable Cabot prays unto the 'liuing God,' in behalf of his brother mariners, that He might give them 'his grace to accomplish' their 'charge to his glorie,' and that his 'merciful hand' might 'prosper'

their 'voyage, and preserue' them 'from all dangers[26].'

The men, to whom such instructions and aids were given, and for whom such supplications were offered up, assuredly could not say that no man cared for their souls. The Word of God was with them; the ordinances and ministrations of His Church waited upon them. And it were well, if the expeditions which left the shores of England, in after ages, had always carried with them similar tokens of pious and affectionate remembrance, on the part of those who remained and bore rule at home. But we will not anticipate the sad records of unfaithfulness and neglect. Let the history, which is to pass in review before us, reveal them; and let us, ere it be too late, see that we take warning from it.

Departure of the expedition.

Leaving the particulars of the expedition, whose equipment and objects have been thus far noticed, to be learnt from the narratives of the writers who have related them[27], I can only touch upon the points immediately connected with the object which I have in view. The description, however, given in one of the above-mentioned narratives of the squadron, when about to sail, is too remarkable to be overlooked.

[26] Hakluyt, i. 251—259. 'So that this,' says Fuller, 'may be termed the first reformed Fleet, which had English Prayers and Preaching therein.' Worthies of England, (Derbyshire,) of which county Willoughby was a native, p. 234.

[27] Willoughby's Journal until the time of his death; and the account of the voyage and subsequent discoveries in Russia, 'written in Latine by Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henshmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of Richard Chancelor.' Hakluyt, i. 260—284. This is the same Adams, who carved the map of Cabot's discoveries. See p. 2, *ante*.

'It was thought best by the opinion of them all,' says Chancelor, the only commander in the expedition who survived, 'that by the twentieth day of May the Captaines and Mariners should take shipping and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it pleased God. They hauing saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes, and anotner his friends deerer than his kinsfolkes, were present and ready at the day appoynted: and having wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes are towed downe with boates and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in watchet or skie-coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay,) presently vpon the newes thereof, the courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke vpon the shoare: the priuie counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the manner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys, and the waters gaue an eccho, and the mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stoode in the poope of the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friendes in the best manner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the shrowds, another stands vpon the maine yarde, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas), the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared), hee onely by reason of his sickenesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorrowfull accident of his death followed.'

Death of Willoughby.

The outline of the fortunes of the expedition is soon given. The journal of its chief commander, written in his own hand, informs us, that early in the following August, when he was in seventy degrees latitude, he was overtaken by a violent storm, in which he parted company with one of his ships, the Bonaventura; that his own vessel, and her remaining consort, proceeded in a north-

easterly course, occasionally descrying land; but not putting in any where, until, on the 18th of September, they entered a haven of Russian Lapland, called Arzina, where they determined to winter. That winter was their last[28]. The exact time at which they perished is not known, for not a single survivor of either crew remained to tell the sad story[29]. But it appears by a Will, found in one of the vessels which contained the frozen bodies of the dead, that Willoughby and most of his company were still dragging on their existence in January, 1554. The vessel, which had been parted from them in the storm, and to the captain of which,

Chancelor, one of his colleagues, reaches Archangel.

[28]
Such was the Briton's fate,
As with first prow (what have not Britons dared?)
He for the passage sought, attempted since
So much in vain, and seeming to be shut
By jealous nature with eternal bars.
In these fell regions, in Arzina caught,
And to the stony deep his idle ship
Immediate sealed, he with his hapless crew,
Each full-exerted at his several task,
Froze into statues; to the cordage glued
The sailor, and the pilot to the helm.
Thomson's Seasons, Winter.

[29] 'We are bound,' says Fuller, in his notice of Willoughby already quoted, 'to believe them well prepared for death, the rather because they had with them a minister, Mr. Richard Stafford.' There is a most touching passage in Chancelor's narrative, in which, not yet having learnt what had been the fate of his comrades, he says, 'If it be so, that any miserable mishap haue ouertaken them, if the rage and furie of the sea haue deuoured these good men, or if as yet they liue and wander up and downe in strange countreys, I must needs say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wish them safetie and a good returne; but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God send them a Christian graue and sepulchre.' Hakluyt, i. 273.

Richard Chancelor, we are indebted for all our information upon the subject, succeeded in making good her voyage to the coast near Archangel, where her people were received with great kindness and hospitality by the inhabitants of the country. Her commander was, after some delay, conducted by them to Moscow, to the presence of the Russian Emperor, Ivan Vasilivich. The Letters Missive from Edward VI. were delivered and read; Chancelor and his companions were entertained with much magnificence; and they returned to England, the year after they had left it, bearing with them favourable proposals to their King from the Russian Emperor, for the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries[30].

In consequence of the death of Edward, soon after the departure of the expedition, these proposals were laid before Mary, his successor; and important results followed her acceptance of them. Before I notice these, I would refer briefly to some of the efforts made, during Edward's reign, to establish intercourse with other quarters of the world. The record is still extant of a trading voyage made by Roger Bodenham, in 1550, to Scio and Candia, the Ionian isles, and Sicily, in which he was accompanied by Chancelor, of whom I have just spoken. Bodenham afterwards made a voyage to Mexico. Again, we have the narrative of another voyage by John Locke, in 1553, to Leghorn, whence he journeyed by land to Venice, and sailed from that port, with German, Dutch, and French pilgrims, to Jaffa, touching at several parts of the

Commercial intercourse of England with other parts of Europe, during this reign.

[30] Ib. 263–284.

coast of the Adriatic, and at Candia; and, from Jaffa, he proceeded to Jerusalem. Another Englishman, also, Anthonie Jenkinson, whose travels will be noticed more particularly in the next chapter, visited Aleppo in the same year, and gives a description of the entrance of Solyman, the Magnificent, into that city, with his army, 'most pompous to behold,' which he was leading against Persia. He received, at the same time, from that Sultan a letter, granting to him the privilege of travelling, and carrying on trade unmolested, throughout the Turkish dominions [31].

The only other measures during the reign of Edward VI. which call for any notice, as tending to promote the commercial influence of England, are the treaty which he concluded with Henry II. of France, in 1550, and the stop which he put to the privileges, which the Steelyard or Hanseatic merchants had enjoyed, ever since the time of Edward IV., in the exportation of English manufactured cloths to Flanders [32].

Relations between Russia and England, under Mary.

Mary, upon her accession to the throne, soon availed herself of the opportunity of establishing commercial relations with Russia, by granting a Charter of incorporation, February 5, 1554, to the Company of merchants trading with that country. Sebastian Cabot was appointed governor, for the term of his natural life, in consideration of having been the chief designer and promoter of the expedition [33]. In the following

[31] Hakluyt, ii. 210—227; iii. 540.

[32] Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, i. 690; ii. 105—111; Strype's Eccles. Mem. iii. 519.

[33] Hakluyt, i. 298—304; and Anderson's History of Commerce,

year, Chancelor was again sent out, with letters from the English court to that of Moscow, and with agents and factors, appointed by the company, to carry on their expected trade. A second time, Chancelor was received with kindness by Ivan Vasilivich; and, upon his return to England in 1556, was accompanied by the Russian ambassador, Osep Napea. The voyage was most disastrous. A storm overtook Chancelor's ship, and dashed her in pieces against the rocks of the Scottish coast. The life of the ambassador, indeed, was saved; but Chancelor perished in the attempt to save him. As soon as tidings of that event reached London, the Queen and the Russia Company spared no pains and expense to compensate Osep Napea for the loss of his property, and the ill treatment which he received from the people, upon whose coast he had been wrecked. The account of his progress to London, and of his reception,—first, by the authorities of the city, and afterwards by Philip and Mary, who gave him audience at their court at Westminster, March 25, 1557,—is detailed with more than ordinary minuteness; and supplies not only an interesting picture of the manners of the day, but also signal evidence of the eagerness with which all ranks of the English concurred to do honour to the Russian deputy [34].

Mary's reign not favourable to colonization.

No other steps were taken by Mary to extend the commercial influence of England in any quarter,—an inactivity easily explained. She was fully justified, by every conside-

117. This Charter is remarkable, among other things, for the direct opposition which it offers, on the part of sovereigns in communion with the Church of Rome, to the partition of the globe made by Pope Alexander VI.

[34] Hakluyt, i. 287—322; Stow's Annals, 629.

ration of duty and of policy, in leaving to her consort Philip the acquisition of the islands and continents of the west; since he was monarch of that country to which they had already been assigned by a decree, whose validity, however untenable in itself, was nevertheless acknowledged as supreme by them both. And enterprises such as those, which had engaged the thoughts and prayers of the youthful Edward, and the venerable Cabot, were not likely to be undertaken by her, in any other quarter of the globe; for she looked upon scenes of a far different character. A fearful tragedy was then enacted in the cities and provinces of our land; and the brightest hopes of the nation were darkened, and its best strength destroyed, whilst she strove to bind its inhabitants once more, under the bondage of that unlawful thraldom, from which, for a season, they had been freed.

Unsuccessful attempts made by some of her subjects to extend their commerce.

Some few traces, nevertheless, are to be met with, of individual efforts made by our countrymen, during that unhappy period, to renew and extend the course of adventurous navigation; the most important of which was the fitting out of another vessel by the Russia Company, under the counsel of Cabot, to explore the mouth of the river Ob or Oby, with a view to the discovery of the north-east passage. The vessel was entrusted to the command of Steven Burrough, and leaving England in the spring of 1556, succeeded in proceeding as far eastward as the Strait of Vaigatz, between Nova Zembla and the continent.

Of the voyages of Mary's subjects to other quarters of the globe, the chief are those which were made, in four successive years, from 1553 to 1557, to Guinea, and Benin, and Barbary. But so little

benefit was derived from these attempts, that we find soon afterwards a letter addressed by one of the chief commanders of the vessels employed upon that service to his owners, advising them to give up their design [35].

Connexion of the notice of Russia with the first Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

There is one object of interest, however, connected with our present enquiry, which Mary's reign presents, and which may be noted in this place; namely, that factories of English merchants were established, in course of time, at Moscow and at Archangel, in consequence of the commercial relations now begun; and that these were among the foremost places, which our Church afterwards recognised as the field of her ministrations. Many years, as might be expected, elapsed, before the intercourse, thus commenced with the north of Europe, assumed a definite and important character; many difficulties were to be overcome, many interruptions to be experienced, before the intercourse between the two countries could be maintained upon any systematic footing. And, when that was at length secured, the troubles which overtook England in the 17th century, broke up every channel through which the streams of peace and holiness could flow for the refreshment of her children in foreign lands. Nevertheless, before the close of that century, negotiations were successfully made for securing to the members of our Church in Russia the free enjoyment of her worship; and assistance towards carrying on the same was extended from their brethren at home. Thus, the reader will find, in the earliest published Report of the Society for the

[35] Hakluyt, i. 318—329; ii. 464—509.

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,—a copy of which will appear in a later portion of this work,—that the factory of English merchants, then established at Moscow, had received from the Czar a piece of ground, upon which they were to build a church and residence for the minister. A reference is made, also, in the same Report, to a grant of books for the benefit of the factory.

Whilst the course, therefore, of our present enquiry has shown that some of the regions first visited by our countrymen, in the outset of their commercial enterprises, were those of Russia, it is satisfactory to find that the Church of their baptism planted there also, as soon as she was able, the ensigns of her love and holiness.

CHAPTER II.

ATTEMPTS TOWARDS COLONIZATION IN THE FIRST PART OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

A.D. 1558—1583.

The reign of Elizabeth favourable to commercial enterprise.

Mary's bitter reign was of brief duration. In little more than five years, the scene was changed again; and, with the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, returned the worship and other privileges of our Reformed Church, the blessings of internal peace, and the revival of commercial enterprise.

Jenkinson's travels.

In Russia, as might be expected from the relations already established with that country, the progress of British commerce was first manifested. The ambassador, who had been sent by the Russian Emperor to Mary, returned in the last year of her reign, accompanied by Jenkinson, whose name was mentioned in the last chapter,—and who was agent to the Company of English merchants trading with Russia,—a man, pre-eminent for the skill and courage and perseverance with which he prosecuted his discoveries by land and sea. He was graciously received by the Emperor, and obtained permission to proceed to Bokhara. His course was by Novogorod

and the Volga to Astracan; and thence, having traversed the whole length of the Caspian sea, he disembarked on its southern coast, and journeyed with a caravan of Tartars towards and along the banks of the river Oxus, until he reached Bokhara. During the following winter, he obtained all the information he could respecting the trade carried on in that and the adjoining countries; and, in March 1559, set out upon his return, raising, as he again crossed the Caspian, 'the red cross of St. George in their flagges for the honour of the Christians, which (he supposes) was never seene on that sea before.' Thence he passed on to Moscow; and returned to England in 1560.

Letters were forthwith addressed by Elizabeth to the Shah of Persia, requesting his protection of her subjects about to proceed to his country; and, with these and others to the Emperor of Russia and to the governors of the Company of merchants, Jenkinson again set out, in 1561. After some delay at the Russian court, he was permitted to proceed by the same course as before; and, having disembarked on the south of the Caspian, was received with kindness by the king of Hyrcania, and allowed to have a free passage through his dominions to Persia. Thus, passing near Tabreez, he reached the fortified city of Casbin, about ninety miles north-west of Teheran, where the Shah of Persia kept his court. He was admitted to an audience with the Shah, but failed in obtaining, at that time, any further privilege. The hatred evinced against the Christian faith professed by the English traveller, and the jealousy and intrigues of some Turkish agents who were at that time at Casbin, concluding a treaty with Persia, frustrated

all his designs; and, had it not been for the friendly watchfulness and interposition of the king of Hircan and his son, the liberty or the life of Jenkinson might have been forfeited. He was enabled, however, to return unharmed; and, having rendered an account of his proceedings to the Russian Emperor, as he passed through Moscow, and left with the English merchants a copy of the commercial privileges granted by the king of Hircan, returned once more home.

This partial success induced the Russia Company to send other agents into the regions explored by Jenkinson; but the misconduct of some, and the death of others, presented a bar to any great success. One of these agents, Edwards, succeeded in obtaining, in 1566, the privilege, which had been denied to Jenkinson, of trading with English goods into Persia; and, in the same year, Elizabeth granted a new Charter for the better government of the Russia Company. This Charter was followed by additional privileges conferred by the Russian Emperor upon the English who traded in his dominions; and ambassadors and other agents were sent from each country to the other, for the better settlement of the regulations connected with them.

New Charter granted by Elizabeth to the Russia Company in 1566.

The names of these different persons, and the account of their journeys and voyages, and of the commercial decrees, &c., obtained through their agency, are all to be found in the records compiled by the indefatigable Hakluyt[1]. Many curious and interesting particulars occur in the recital; but I cannot stop to notice them. Let it suffice

Commercial relations with Russia checked.

[1] Hakluyt, i. 315—463.

to remark,—and in so doing I anticipate, in some degree, the order of events,—that the trade of the Company increased, and extended into Persia, until the demise of Ivan Vasilivich, in 1584. His successor, Pheodor, soon manifested such unfriendly feelings towards the English, that Sir Jerome Bowes, our ambassador at the Russian court, was compelled to return home[2]. His jealousy was afterwards so far mitigated, that he granted to Jerome Horsey, the English agent, in 1586, some privileges of trade which had been before withheld; and, in 1588, renewed with Elizabeth, in the person of Giles Fletcher, her ambassador, a 'league of amitie' for the purpose of re-establishing the trade of the Russian Company. But it does not appear that the Emperor ever gave any hearty encouragement to the English. And, although his brother-in-law, Pheodorowich, who succeeded him in 1597, sought to favour them, it was difficult for the English to regain the ground which they had lost. The Dutch, who, in the former Emperor's time, had not been scrupulous as to the means which they employed to secure a footing in Russia, now quickly availed themselves of the favourable opportunity afforded by the policy of Theodor; and laid the foundation of that extensive commerce which they pursued almost without a rival, in the following century, when England was rendered powerless by her civil troubles.

[2] Bowes is described as 'being attended upon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, *and one M. Humfrey Cole, a learned preacher*,' i. 513—525. This is one of the many proofs to show that, whithersoever Englishmen turned their steps in that day, the ordinances of the English Church always accompanied them.

Attempt of Pet and Jackman to penetrate the north-east passage.

The main object sought after, and more than once plainly avowed, in her efforts, —which had now continued for nearly half a century, to maintain an intercourse with Russia, and through her to extend it to the countries situated toward the south and south-east of that extensive empire,—was the discovery of China and of India. The attempt to prosecute that discovery through the north-east passage, by the expedition under Willoughby, had been, in fact, the immediate cause of forming, in the first instance, any relations at all with Russia; and from the small band of survivors of that expedition has arisen the train of historic incident, of which I have here attempted to draw the outline. Another commission was issued, in 1580, with the consent of Elizabeth, by the Russia Company, unto Pet and Jackman to make a voyage for the discovery of Cathay. Their course was directed, as had been that of Steven Burrough, through the Vaigatz strait; and thence, passing the mouth of the river Ob, they were to proceed eastward until they should reach the 'renowned cities,' Cambalu, or Quinsay, in Northern China. The record of their voyage remains, like that of so many others, undertaken with a like object in view, a witness not of the success, but of the courage and zeal, of those who conducted it.

Evidence of their attention to the ordinances of the Church.

In the instructions given to these commanders, we may notice the provision made for the observance of divine worship on board their vessels, as a token of the faithfulness of those who drew them up. The provision is the more remarkable, since the mention of it occurs incidentally, amid a mass of other directions, as if it

were a duty generally recognised and obeyed, and not then, for any special purpose, introduced. The words are,

'Doe you obserue good order in your dayly service, and pray vnto God, so shall you prosper the better.'

At the close also of the instructions, a reference is made to the work already begun by the emissaries of the Church of Rome in the east. On the supposition of the safe arrival of these voyagers in China, the code of directions drawn up for their guidance proceeds to say,

'You may also haue opportunitie to sail ouer to Iapan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Iesuits of many countreys of Christendome some, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may haue great instruction, and aduise for your affaires in hand.'

Intercourse with Iceland and Greenland,

The knowledge which the English thus partially acquired, by their voyages to Russia, led them soon afterwards to acquaint themselves further with other countries in the north. A long account of Iceland, and of the Church existing there, addressed to the King of Denmark in 1592, is to be found in Hakluyt; and also a letter written by Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen, in Iceland, 'to Master Hugh Branham, minister of the Church of Harewich, in England,' whom he addresses as 'his brother and fellow pastour,' in answer to some enquiries which had been made by the latter, concerning the spiritual condition of that country. The Icelandic Bishop describes the English as 'lordes of the Ocean Sea,' and making 'yearely voyages vnto Gronland' [Greenland], in which country, he says, upon the au-

thority of the chroniclers of Iceland, there were 'certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie[3].'

The West Indies, and parts of South America and Mexico.

The seas and islands of the West Indies, and parts of the coast of South America and Mexico, also became known to the English, during the reign of Elizabeth, and were made the scenes of many a fierce conflict with their Spanish rivals. Hence, those exploits which are associated with the names of Clifford, Earl of Cumberland[4], of Hawkins, of Drake, of Cavendish; and to

[3] Hakluyt, i. 488—669.

[4] An account of the voyages, &c. of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, is given in the 4th Volume of Purchas's Pilgrims. Some of it is written by the Earl himself, but the greater part 'by that learned man and reverend divine, Dr. Layfield, his lordship's chaplaine and attendant.' A circumstance is related by him as having happened when they were about to proceed on one of their last voyages, which Purchas notes, in the margin, as the 'worthy act of a worthy man,' and which may be cited as illustrating the spirit which animated some of the stirring spirits of that age. 'His lordship,' says Layfield, 'came downe to Portesmouth, the eight of Feb. (1596,) wherein nothing memorable happened till Munday, being the thirteenth of March. While we were at morning prayer, his lordship happened to see a gallant of the company (purposely I name him not) reading of Orlando Furioso; to whom himselfe in person went presently after seruice, all the company being by, and hauing told him we might looke that God would serue us accordingly, if we serued not him better; bad him be sure if againe he tooke him in the like manner, he would cast his booke overboord, and turne himselfe out of the ship,' p. 1155.

The following description of Dominica (at which island Clifford touched, in the course of the voyage to which the above extract refers) may be cited as a fair sample of Layfield's style: 'To describe this Iland, it lieth North-West and South-East, the soile is very fat, euen in the most neglected places, matching the Garden-plats in England for a rich blacke molde: so Mountainous (certaine in the places where we came neare the Sea coasts) that the Vallies may better be called Pits than Plaines, and withall so vnpassably

the services of these our celebrated countrymen, are we indebted for our first definite knowledge of those distant quarters of the globe, of which many are now portions of our own Colonial empire. Vague and imperfect reports, indeed, had reached England, several years before, of the countries lying on the eastern coast of South America. Ships had been fitted out from the ports of London and Southampton to trade with Brazil [5], as early as the years 1540 and 1542;

wooddie, that it is maruailous how those naked soules can be able to pull themselves through them, without renting their naturall cloathes. Some speake of more easie passages in the Inland of the Iland, which make it probable that they leaue those skirts and edges of their Countrie thus of purpose for a wall of defence. These Hils are apparelled with very goodly greene Trees of many sorts. The tallnesse of these vnrequested Trees make the hils seeme more hilly then of themselves happily they are: for they grow so like good children of some happy ciuill body, without enuie or oppression, as that they looke like a proud meddow about Oxford, when after some irruption, Tems is againe cooched low within his owne banks, leauing the earth's Mantle more ruggie and flakie, than otherwise it would haue bin: yea, so much seeme these natural children delighted with equalitie, and withall with multiplication, that hauing growne to a definite stature, without desire of ouertopping others, they willingly let downe their boughes, which being come to the earth againe take roote, as it were to continue the succession of their decaying progenitors: and yet they doe continually maintaine themselves in a greene-good liking, through the liberalitie partly of the Sunnes neighbourhood, which prouideth them in that necrenesse to the Sea, of exceeding showres; partly of many fine Riuers, which, to requite the shadow and coolnesse they receive from the Trees, give them back againe a continuall refreshing of very sweet and tastie water.' Purchas's Pilgrims, iv. 1158.

[5] Brazil was discovered, in 1500, by a Portuguese squadron, which had been fitted out by King Emmanuel for the East Indies, but was driven by a storm upon its coast. Anderson's History of Commerce, &c. ii. 19. The first Englishman who reached Brazil

and the intercourse was kept up from time to time until 1580[6]. This formed one channel of information. Another was supplied by the reports of the same countries brought home to Europe, by those who had accompanied Magellan, when he first penetrated, in 1520, the straits which still bear his name; and by others of the Portuguese and Spanish nations, who preceded the English in their adventurous expeditions. The stories which they circulated of strange lands, and yet stranger people, were charged, as might be expected, with the many marvellous traditions which the merchant and the mariner received, as they passed onwards in their course; and when transferred, as they soon were, by the writers of fiction at home, to the pages of their romances and plays, added a fresh interest to the scenes which their fancy drew[7].

was Captain William Hawkins, the father of Sir John, as early as the year 1530. Hakluyt, iv. 198, 199.

[6] Anderson's History of Commerce, &c. ii. 89. A most interesting account is to be found in Hakluyt, iii. 511—540, of a voyage to Mexico, performed by Robert Tomson, an English merchant, in 1553. A description of a storm which overtook them, as they were approaching San Juan de Ulloa, is scarcely inferior to any in our language. The persecution, also, which he and his companions suffered upon their arrival at Vera Cruz, on account of their being members of the English Church, and his banishment to Spain, and imprisonment for three years by the Inquisition, are described in terms of most touching and truthful interest. I regret that I cannot find room for the account of a conversation, which took place at the table of one of the chief inhabitants of Mexico, between him and others of the company, on the subject of the Reformation in England, chiefly with reference to the abolition of images, and of the invocation of saints. There is a shrewdness and cogency in the arguments there advanced, a careful perusal of which will well repay the reader. The account also given of New Spain, &c., are all deserving of attention. Ib. 541—587.

[7] Hence the language which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of

The voyages of Drake

But Englishmen were now to learn, through more direct and authentic channels, the real position and character of those distant regions to which other nations had pointed the way. Drake was the first English commander who passed, through the Straits of Magellan, into the waters of the South Pacific. He did this in 1578, when little more than half a century had elapsed since the first discovery of that passage. The remainder of that season, and the greater part of the year following, were passed by him in prosecuting his discoveries along the west coast of South America, and among some few of the islands which are scattered throughout the Pacific. He next proceeded as far as forty-three degrees, north latitude, whence, by reason of the severe cold, he retired five degrees southwards, and anchored in 'a faire and good Baye,' supposed to be that of Port San Francisco, on the coast of California; and to which the attention of the whole world is now so powerfully attracted on account of its mines of gold. The inhabitants of that country gave themselves up to Drake, and he took possession of it in the name of Elizabeth, calling it 'Noua Albion.' Upon leaving that coast, he steered for the Moluccas or Spice Islands, where he was received kindly by the King of

Caliban, when he confesses the magic authority of his master Prospero, saying,

> His art is of such power,
> It would control my dam's god, Setebos,
> And make a vassal of him.—Tempest, Act i. Scene 2.

Setebos was the object of worship among the Patagonians; and a knowledge of that circumstance could only have been gathered from the recent records and stories, which were in circulation respecting Magellan's voyage, when Shakspeare thus connected it with the latest of his plays.

Ternate, the richest and most important island of the group. Thence he pursued his course, by Java, to the Cape of Good Hope, which he doubled; and, having touched upon the coast of Guinea, for the purpose of supplying his ship with water,—the only one out of five originally under his command, which had survived the perils of the voyage,—reached England at the close of the year 1580. Thus, within three years from the time in which he had left his native shores, Drake had circumnavigated the world [8].

And Cavendish.

The course marked out by Drake was followed, a few years afterwards, by Cavendish, who scrupled not, in the course of his expedition, to seize and plunder whatsoever came in his way, either by sea or land. He returned home, in somewhat less than two years, laden with the rich spoils which he had thus unrighteously obtained. Tempted by this success, he set out, in 1591, upon another voyage, from which he never returned. At one time his ships were arrested in their course by calms; at another, dispersed by storms; sickness and mutiny broke out among his crews; and, at length, he died through fatigue and disappointment [9].

[8] Hakluyt, iv. 232—246. Drake also, as well as Clifford, had a chaplain with him, who has recorded the adventures in which he bore a part; but the advice which the chaplain appears to have given to him, on one occasion, with respect to the mode in which he might repair the losses which he had received from the Spaniards, —although 'clear in sea-divinity,' as Fuller terms it, (Holy State, Life of Drake, 106; see also Prince's Worthies of Devon, 239,)— was not that which truth or justice could have recognised.

[9] Hakluyt, iv. 316—341, and 361—373. This brief notice of Cavendish, or Candish (as he is sometimes called), might lead the reader, who is not acquainted with the particulars of his life, to suppose that he was nothing else but a wild and reckless buccaneer.

The necessary consequence of such intercourse with different and remote countries of the globe, was to induce the desire of making settlements in some of them; and the countries first discovered by British mariners were naturally chosen as the first place in which to make this experiment. Accordingly, in the 20th year of Elizabeth, Letters Patent were granted by her to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, and half-brother of Sir Walter Ralegh, 'for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.' Gilbert is described by Hume as 'the gallant sea adventurer, who distinguished himself in the House of Commons, in the year 1571, as one of the foremost champions in defence of the Queen's prerogative, in opposition to Robert Bell, a Puritan, who had brought forward a motion against the exclusive patent granted by Elizabeth to a company of merchants at Bristol.' He had already served with great distinction, both abroad and at home; and, on account of his exploits in Ireland, had been appointed to the chief command in the province of Munster. A Discourse, also, which he published in 1576, for the purpose of proving the existence of a passage by the north-west to Cathaia and the East Indies, shows the long and careful attention which he had directed to that subject, and the variety of learning, of practical information, and of ingenious reasoning, which he had brought to bear upon it. Strype speaks of him 'as a learned knight, and of a projecting head;' and Hakluyt mentions a disputation, which he held upon the subject of the

First Charter granted by Elizabeth to Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

But a letter written by him, when he was dying, to Sir Tristram Gorges, his executor, and preserved in Purchas's Pilgrims, iv. 1201, proves the existence of a kindly and grateful feeling within him.

north-west passage, before Elizabeth, with Jenkinson, whose feats of travel have been already noticed[10]. Gilbert, therefore, may well have been deemed worthy of being selected as the leader of this perilous enterprise. He was an admirable specimen of those men whom the great poet and dramatist of the age describes as not suffered 'to spend' their 'youth at home,' but sent

> Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there,
> Some, to discover islands far away[11].

Terms of the Charter.

The power conferred upon Gilbert by his Patent, which bears date June 11, 1578, was nothing less than that of holding, occupying, and enjoying, by himself and his heirs and assigns, any country and territory which he might discover, 'not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people;' of leading thither any English subject, who should be willing to join his band; of disposing of any of the property so vested in them, 'in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England,' to any person who should be in allegiance to the English crown; and of continuing to hold the same 'by homage,' and by the payment of 'the fift part of all the oare of gold and silver that, from time to time,' should 'be there gotten.' It was provided, also, that no person should, without the special license of Gilbert, and his heirs and assigns, be allowed to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which, during the six years next ensuing, they might have occupied;

[10] Hume, v. 184—186; Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith, 100—102; Somers' Tracts, i. 358—365; Hakluyt, i. 578. iii. 32—47.

[11] Shakspeare's Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act i. Scene 3.

and that if any should be found doing so, they and their property should be detained and possessed as 'good and lawful prize according to the discretion' of him and his associates. He and they, moreover, were invested with full 'authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their and every, or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other,' all such British subjects as should 'hereafter adventure themselves' in the territories which they occupied, and also to devise and establish statutes, laws, and ordinances for their better government; provided always, that the said laws 'be as neere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of the laws and pollicy of England; and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of' the Queen, 'her heires or successours, as their immediate sovereigns under God.'

Recognition therein of the faith professed in the Church of England.

A power was further given to the lord treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the privy council, to 'authorize and licence' Gilbert and his heirs, to embark and transport out of the realms of England and Ireland all, or such portion of their goods, as should be 'thought meete and conuenient for their better relief and supportation.' And, lastly, it was provided, that, if the parties to whom this Patent was granted, should 'hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust and vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the subjects of' the English crown, or of those allied with England; and should refuse, within a given time, to 'make full restitution and satisfaction

of all such iniuries done;' then they should themselves be placed 'out of the protection and allegiance of' England, and no longer 'bee aduowed, maintained, or defended, nor be holden as any of' hers[12].

The articles of this first Charter, granted for the establishment of an English Colony, have been fully set before the reader, in order that he may see the provisions which they contained for the settlement of our countrymen in foreign lands, and the spirit in which they were drawn up. The remark made by Robertson respecting them, that they 'unfold the ideas of that age, with respect to the nature of such settlements,' is no doubt true; and, for that reason, they have been recited at length in this place. Equally true, also, is his assertion that the extraordinary powers contained in this Charter, although 'suited to the high notions of authority and prerogative, prevalent in England during the 16th century, are very repugnant to more recent ideas with respect to the rights of free men, who voluntarily unite to form a colony[13].' One article, however, deserves especially to be noticed, —and it is the more needful to do so, as Robertson has neither cited nor made the slightest reference to it,—namely, that which enacts that the laws and ordinances, devised and established in the new Colony, 'be not against the

This fact needful to be observed.

[12] Hakluyt, iii. 174—177.

[13] Robertson's America, Works, ix. 159 and 161. See also Marshall's Introduction to his Life of Washington. This Introduction is, for the most part, a close copy of the 9th and 10th Books of Robertson's America; and, in many instances, expressed in the very same words. The references to him and other writers are given in the most indefinite and unsatisfactory manner; so that the reader has but few opportunities of distinguishing between the statements of Marshall and those of others.

true Christian faith or religion now professed in the Church of England.' The form in which it is expressed reflects, indeed, the spirit of despotic rule which prevailed in that age; yet the proclamation itself of the true faith professed in the Church of England, and the interest manifested in behalf of those who were about to leave her fostering care at home, that they should be preserved and strengthened by her bonds of holy fellowship abroad, and remember, amid all the dangers and hardships of their new estate, the ground of their common salvation—these certainly prove, that, in the first attempt to plant in foreign climes a settlement of British subjects, the recognition was broadly and distinctly made of their own inheritance in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and of the obligations consequent upon it.

Further evidence of the same right principles in the narratives of Haies and Peckham.

A further and more explicit testimony to the same effect is supplied in the remarks, accompanying the narrative which has come down to us of Gilbert's expedition, drawn up by Haies, himself captain and owner of one of the vessels which accompanied it; and also in the report, made afterwards of the same by Sir George Peckham, one of its chief promoters[14]. The expedition itself, indeed, may be said to have failed almost entirely in accomplishing any of its avowed objects; and is truly described, by the first of the above writers, as having 'begun, continued, and ended aduersly.' Great delays and disappointments were experienced, at the outset, by the falling away of several who had promised to bear their part in the adventure; and, when at length the expe-

[14] Hakluyt, iii. 184—227; Prince's Worthies of Devon, 327.

dition sailed, it was attacked by a Spanish squadron, and compelled to return home, diminished both in ships and men. In this expedition, Ralegh [15] accompanied his brother, and was exposed to great danger. Nor was the second attempt, made a few years afterwards, much more successful; for many errors were committed both in the preparation for, and in the prosecution of, the voyage; and the commander himself, as we shall see, perished on his return from Newfoundland; having done little more, with reference to the general objects of his mission, than take formal possession of St. John's harbour in that Island.

Errors in fitting out the expedition.

One of the chief errors committed in the equipment of the squadron was the absence of any of those securities for the good government of the crews, which, we saw, in our first chapter, had been provided for the fleet of Sir Hugh Willoughby. The commanders of the respective vessels, indeed, seem to have been men of energy and honest zeal; but the sailors under them were, for the most part, pirates and others, who had been 'surprised upon the narrow seas of England;' and the disorder, likely to arise from crews of this description, was aggravated yet further by the strange medley of the people associated with them, namely, artizans of every description, musicians, 'Morris dancers, Hobbyhorsse, and May-like conceits to delight the Sauage people.' There was no omission in supplying the least of such like 'toyes,' as Haies quaintly designates them; but we shall look in vain for any trace of those elements of truth and order accompanying them, which can

[15] Oldys' Life of Ralegh, 48, and Birch's Life, 574. Oxford edition, 1829.

alone give to the adventurous navigator a superiority over the savages of foreign lands; and without which, we have seen, that Edward VI. would not that the mariners of his time should leave their native country.

Its departure.

The expedition, which thus contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction, did not finally leave England until June 11, 1583. It consisted of a fleet of five sail, the smallest of which was only ten tons burden; and the largest, a barke of two hundred tons, which bore the name of Ralegh, being fitted out and manned at his sole charge[16]. This vessel was compelled to return to Plymouth, within a very few days, in consequence of a contagious sickness having broken out among its crew. The rest of the fleet, 'not a little grieved with the loss of the most puissant ship' in their company, pursued a direct course towards Newfoundland, and reached it after a voyage of seven weeks. The small islands off the eastern coast were the first points descried by them; thence crossing Conception Bay, in a southerly direction, to Cape St. Francis, the

[16] In some of the narratives of Ralegh's life, it is said that he actually embarked on board this vessel, as Vice-Admiral to his brother. But this cannot be correct. Haies (our chief guide in this matter) speaks only of the vessel having been 'set forth,' by Ralegh, and that M. Butler was her captain, and Robert Davis of Bristol, master. A letter also is to be found in Purchas, iii. 808, written by Gilbert, four days after he had landed in Newfoundland, in which he says, 'I departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June with fiue sailes, and on the thirteenth the Barke Rawley ran from me in faire and cleere weather, hauing a large winde. I pray you solicite my brother Rawley to make them an example of all knaues.' This last sentence is conclusive as to the fact that Ralegh himself was not on board.

voyagers arrived at St. John's harbour, within which were assembled, at that time, not less than thirty-six sail of vessels of different nations. The English merchants, who were already residing at that place, and undertook by turns the superintendence of the fishing vessels which resorted thither, were at first unwilling to give them entrance; but, as soon as they were informed that the newly-arrived squadron had come under the Queen's authority, for the purpose of making a permanent settlement upon the Island, they gave them a hearty and affectionate welcome. Gilbert and his company landed on Sunday, August 4; and, on the following day, having set up his tent, and summoned all the English and strangers who were there to attend, read and explained the Queen's commission; by virtue of which he took possession of St. John's, and the neighbouring country to the extent of two hundred leagues; and, in token of the authority vested in him, received 'after the custom of England, a rod and a turffe of the same soile.' Whitbourne, who published a Discourse upon Newfoundland in the reign of James I., was at St. John's at this time, and states in his preface that he was an eye-witness of the scene. Gilbert next proposed and delivered three laws to be in force immediately; the first for religion, which 'in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England;' and the other two for the maintenance of the Queen's prerogatives in that country. Obedience was promised, by the general voice and consent of all present, to the authority thus set up among them. A pillar of wood was erected near the spot, and upon it were fixed the arms of England engraven in lead; and

Its arrival at St. John's, Newfoundland.

Gilbert takes possession thereof.

divers parcels of land, lying by the water side, and convenient for dressing and drying fish, were granted in fee to various parties, upon condition of paying a certain rent and service to Gilbert and his heirs and assigns for ever.

Proceeds further on his voyage,

The sequel of their sad story must be briefly told. Sickness, mutiny, and robbery, soon thinned their numbers, and made their peril imminent. One vessel was sent home, with those of the ships' companies who were disabled. The three remaining vessels left St. John's, and proceeded in a southerly direction, until they came to Cape Race. They then shaped their course westward toward the Bay of Placentia, with the view of reaching ultimately Cape Breton; but the loss of their largest ship[17], and the failure of provisions, forced them to abandon their project, and turn homewards. Two vessels only now remained out of the whole number; the one, commanded by Haies, the author from whom all our information respecting the expedition is derived; the other, a small boat of only ten tons burden, (although dignified with the name of 'Frigat,') on board of which Gilbert still was. He had embarked in her, when he left St. John's, for the purpose of exploring more conveniently the creeks and harbours of that

Compelled by losses to return home.

[17] Among the persons lost by the wreck of this ship, was Stephanus Parmenius Budæus, a native of Buda, in Hungary, a learned scholar, 'who,' as Haies tells us, 'of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance happening in this discouerie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator and rare Poet of our time.'

indented coast; and, although he was entreated to stay on board Haies's vessel, which he had one day visited for the purpose of obtaining surgical aid for a hurt which he had received, he refused, saying, 'I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.' They had at that time proceeded three hundred leagues in their course; and, soon afterwards, when they were in the parallel of the Azores, a storm overtook them, more violent than any which had been before experienced. The two vessels kept as near each other as they could; and Gilbert is described, in that moment of danger, 'as sitting abaft with a booke in his hand,' and crying out unto those in the other ship, as often as they approached within hearing, 'we are as neare to heaven by sea as by land.' It was in the afternoon of the ninth of September, that his words of cheering fortitude were thus addressed unto his companions. As soon as the darkness of that evening drew on, the lights of his little vessel were hoisted; and his consort kept them in sight till midnight, when suddenly they were extinguished. The cry forthwith burst from the watch of the surviving vessel, that their brave commander was cast away; 'which was too true,' adds the narrator of the awful scene, 'for in that moment the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the sea.'

Lost at sea.

It is important to observe the train of thought expressed by Haies, who alone returned home from this disastrous expedition. Whatsoever may have been its errors, he, who has recorded them, evidently knew the proper objects which ought to be kept in view in all such undertakings, and the spirit in which they ought to

Remarks on Haies's narrative of the expedition,

be conducted. Speaking of the extent of discoveries in the New World, up to that time, by the voyagers of other nations as well as of England, and of the period which had elapsed since their commencement, he confesses, that, in both these respects, a glorious opportunity had been given to sow the seed of eternal life in those lands of heathenism, from which a full and precious harvest might already have been gathered in. He makes also the distinct acknowledgment, that this

'must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way; or els whatsoeuer is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance. And although,' he adds, 'we cannot precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God), what haue bene the humours of men stirred vp to great attempts of discouering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the events do shew that either God's cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed unto those infidels before the appointed time.'

In the mean while, he urges it

'as the duty of every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which, if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it cometh not of God, and therefore cannot haue confidence of God's protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistible) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation. Otherwise, if his motiues be derived from a vertuous and heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most wonderful and dreadfull manner over their bodies and soules; aduancement of his honest and well-disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed; all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an action beyond expectation of man.'

He next dwells upon the right, which priority of discovery had given to the English, over those parts of America which lay to the north of Florida; upon the usurped authority, which France had since attempted to exercise over them; and upon the reasons for believing that it was destined, by God's counsels, that England should be the evangelizer of that portion of the earth. These considerations he urges upon his countrymen, lest 'the heavy successe and issue' of Gilbert's enterprise, 'being the first attempt of our nation to plant' a Colony, might discourage those who should 'take the same cause in hand hereafter, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way.'

'The carriage of God's word into those very mighty and vast countreys,' he reminds them, in conclusion, was a work of so high and excellent a nature as should 'make men well advised how they handled it;' and for their admonition, therefore, and with reference to those sacred and enduring ends, he proceeds to relate all those particulars of the expedition, of which I have attempted to place the substance before the reader.

And on Peckham's Report.

A similar testimony is supplied in the report of the same expedition made by Sir George Peckham. He had been, as he states in the title of the work, 'the chief adventurer and furtherer of Gilbert's voyage;' and sets forth the account of its progress and result, almost in the very words of Haies, from whom he states that he had received it. And 'having drawn himself' (to use his own language) from the history of the failure of the voyage, 'into a more deepe consideration of' the voyage itself, 'whether it were as well pleasing to Al-

mightie God, as profitable to man: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainfull to the Christians,' he sets forth the arguments for which he believed 'the action to be honest and profitable,' and urges his countrymen 'to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprize.' The object, which he proposes to himself to prove, is, that

'the voyage lately enterprized for trade, traffique and planting in America, was an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maiesties dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie.'

Erroneous character of some of his arguments.

It were needless to follow this writer throughout all his course of reasoning. One part of his general argument, indeed, there is, which deserves notice, as erroneous and fraught with serious mischief, namely, the defence which he attempts to make of the aggressive occupation by Christians of the countries inhabited by savages, upon the plea that the land of Canaan was thus taken possession of by the Israelites as the inheritance of God's people. No doubt, the Israelites did gain possession of and distribute the land of Canaan among themselves; but he who cites their example as an authority, in the present instance, leaves altogether out of sight the important fact, that, in thus dividing the land which had been promised to them, the sons of Abraham were acting, from first to last, under the express command of God; that their government was directly and visibly carried on by His Word; and that, in the fulfilment of that Word, they were made to execute upon nations whose iniquity was full, the punishment denounced against them by the great Judge of all. To enter, therefore, upon a

like career of conquest, and to plead, in vindication of it, the sanction of a like command, when the command itself was not given, was to justify a vicious act by an argument yet more vicious. And the consequence of such fallacious reasonings would obviously be to cast the cloak of Divine authority over any counsel, which the violence or fraud of human policy might suggest.

Such a consequence, it is certain, was not present to the mind of the writer, who, in the present instance, advanced the argument; for, in the broadest and most unreserved manner, he acknowledges that a desire to promote the glory of God is the only proper ground, upon which any enterprise, for opening and maintaining intercourse with heathen lands, can be established, or made to prosper. Still, the profession of this principle, however just and righteous in itself, must not blind us to the fallacy of the general argument, by which he attempts to defend it.

The particular argument, by which the same writer tries to show the lawful title of the Queen to the land visited by Gilbert, is advanced with as much gravity as if it were really valid; although it were difficult to imagine any plea more absurd and vague than that which he assumes for its basis. He asserts that Elizabeth only claimed the restoration of a territory which had belonged to England, since the year 1170; that, about that time, a Welsh prince had planted a colony there; that sundry Welsh names were still to be found in the country, as witnesses of the fact[18]: and,

[18] The reader may perhaps wish to see this argument stated in Peckham's own words: 'It is very evident that the planting there shall in time right amply enlarge her Maiestie's territories and dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those countries, into the which a noble and

that, even the record of Montezuma's speech which he delivered at Mexico in the presence of Cortez, and which is set forth in the Spanish Chronicles, makes reference to the same. Leaving, however, this strange legend, our author derives another, and more specious, argument, from the fact that the same land had been discovered by Cabot[19], under the authority of Henry VII. But the argument can scarcely be regarded as altogether conclusive, for the question still remains unanswered, By what authority did Henry grant his Letters Patent? That the titles, which Peckham tries to establish in favour of Elizabeth, were as good as those which any other Christian sovereign could show for their claim to foreign countries, before such time as they had actual possession of them, through the discoveries of Columbus or Cortez, of Pizarro or Albuquerque, there is no doubt; and, so far, the asser-

worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170, arrived and there planted himself and his colonies, and afterward returned himself into England, leaving certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gave to certaine islands, beastes, and foules, sundry Welsh names, as the Island of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same. There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English as white head, and in truth the saide foules have white heads. There is also in those countries, a fruit called Gwynethes, which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreover, there are divers other Welsh wordes at this day in use. All which most strongly argueth the sayd prince, with his people, to have inhabited there.' See also Southey's Notes on his Poem of Madoc.

[19] Speaking of this discovery by Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, Peckham says, that, in testimony of it, 'there is a faire haven in Newfoundland, known, and called until this day by the name of Sancius haven.'

tion to that effect, with which he ends this part of his argument, is correct. Nevertheless, much more direct and tangible evidence than that which he brings forward is required, before we can accompany the writer to the conclusion which he is so anxious to establish.

The object, intended by this expedition, in the main right.

After having made, however, every abatement, from the force of his arguments, which such considerations demand, there is no doubt that the main and prominent object which this 'chief adventurer,' in the first effort to plant a British settlement abroad, desired to promote, was the extension of Christian truth by the extension of the Christian name; and, that, had the same object been faithfully recognised and earnestly sought after, by those who followed him, the records of our Colonial History would have supplied materials of a far more grateful character than those which it now presents to our view.

CHAPTER III.

ATTEMPTS TOWARDS COLONIZATION DURING THE REMAINDER OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

A.D. 1584—1603.

Patent granted by Elizabeth to Ralegh.

THE failure of Gilbert's expedition checked not the spirit of adventure. Ralegh was eager to rush forward and secure the prize which his brother had failed to grasp; and obtained from Elizabeth, in the next year, a fresh Patent, for six years, renewing, to him and to his heirs, the powers which had been vested in his brother. It contains also the provision, noticed in the former instance, namely, that 'the statutes, lawes, and ordinances,' established by him, in the countries of which he should take possession, should 'be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernment, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe away any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of' the Queen, her 'heires and successours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God[1].'

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 297—301.

These Letters bear date March 25, 1854. On the 27th of the following month, two barks, commanded by Amadas and Barlowe, sailed from the west of England, at the charge and by direction of Ralegh; and, taking the southerly course then usually pursued by the Canaries and West Indies, reached North America, by the Gulf of Florida, on the 2nd of July. The 13th of the same month saw these mariners land upon the low sandy coast of an Island [2], called by them Wocokon; and take formal possession of it, in the Queen's name. The next day, they were visited by the brother of the king of the country, who came with a company of fifty men in boats; the king himself being detained by a severe wound which he had received in battle. These natives are described as being 'very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe.' The most friendly intercourse was begun and carried on between them and the English strangers; and some vague information was obtained

Amadas and Barlowe discover Virginia.

[2] Supposed to be the Island of Okakoke, or Ocrakock, which runs parallel to the coast of N. Carolina; and by which an inlet, of the same name, enters into Pamlico Sound. Stith's History of Virginia, 9. As this writer and his work will frequently be referred to, it may be well to state here that he was a clergyman, who laboured faithfully in Virginia, during the 18th century. In the title-page of the first edition of his work, 1747, he is called, 'Rector of Henries Parish, and one of the Governors of William and Mary College;' and, in a later edition, 1753, 'President of the College of William and Mary in Virginia.' The unsatisfactory nature of the works upon Virginia, published before his time, with the exception of the excellent but confused materials in Captain Smith's History, is alleged by him, in his preface, as a reason for writing another account. Oldmixon's History, published a few years before his own, is justly spoken of by Stith, in very disparaging terms, 33. 107. 112, and also by Beverley, in his Preface.

with respect to the natural productions of the country, and the manners of the people. They afterwards discovered another Island, called Roanoak (which name it still bears), about five miles distant from the province which now bears the name of North Carolina; and thence, having taken on board two of the natives, returned to England. Short, however, as had been the period, during which these mariners tarried upon the American coast, and slight the acquaintance which they had made with its inhabitants, their report excited the desire of England to possess the country; and, as a present token of the power about to be established there, the name of Wingandacoa, by which the natives called it, was exchanged for that of VIRGINIA, by the command, and in memory of, the virgin Queen Elizabeth[3].

Ralegh's Patent confirmed by Parliament; and a second fleet sent out by him under Greenvill.

At the close of the same year, 1584, Ralegh's Patent for discovering foreign countries was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and fresh efforts were quickly made by him to exercise its authority. A fleet of seven sail was sent out April 9, 1585, under the command of Sir Richard Greenvill, an officer of high distinction, for the double purpose of cruizing among some of the West India Islands, and of planting a Colony in that part of America which Ralegh already claimed as his own. On the 26th of June, they anchored off the Island, first discovered by their predecessors; thence, passing over to the main land, visited some of its chief towns, and renewed a friendly

[3] Hakluyt, iii. 301–307; Smith's History of Virginia, 4. The country first called Virginia has since been called North Carolina; and the original name is applied to the territory immediately adjoining it on the north.

intercourse with the people and their native rulers; and, having left a company of upwards of one hundred men, under the charge of Master Ralph Lane, upon the Island of Roanoak, set sail again for England [4].

Disasters of the Colonists at Roanoak.

The chief persons of note thus left under Lane at Roanoak, were Amadas, commander of the former expedition, who was dignified by the title of 'Admirall of the countrey,' and Hariot, who bore a still loftier name, as foremost of the men of science in that day. He had been the mathematical preceptor of Ralegh; and, in obeying his summons to accompany the expedition, gave to it the most valuable aid which could be derived from human strength. But neither science, nor skill, nor courage, availed these settlers any thing. Within little more than eight months, the loss of their boats and provisions, the extreme difficulty of obtaining fresh supplies, and the murderous and incessant warfare waged against them by the natives, brought them to the last extremity. They were only saved from total destruction by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake, who, returning from a train of successful enterprises against the Spaniards in the West Indies, had determined upon visiting this new settlement of his countrymen; and, finding their distress, took the survivors on board his own ships, and arrived safely with them at Portsmouth, July 27, 1586 [5].

Brought home by Drake.

Further losses.

A few days after their departure, Grenvill again arrived at Roanoak with fresh supplies of men and ships; but, unable to learn any tidings of his people, returned to England, leaving in

[4] Hakluyt, iii. 307—311.

[5] Ib. 311—322.

the Island fifteen men, with provisions for two years, as a nucleus around which further materials of strength might hereafter be collected. This small band of settlers soon perished. No record has come down to us of the particulars of their miserable end; but the fact itself appears in a narrative, still extant, of the proceedings of the next band of Colonists, sent out, in the following year, under governor White.

'The same night (July 22nd, 1587), at sunne-set,' says the author of the narrative, 'we went aland on the island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.'

On the following day, he describes their journey to a fort which Lane had erected at the north of the island, and says,

'When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauing that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing [6].'

Evidences of right feeling and conduct in some of the chief parties engaged in these transactions.

The accounts of these abortive efforts to plant the first British settlement in America, contain evidences, which we cannot omit to notice, of the feelings of some who were the most prominent actors in the scenes therein described. One, is the consciousness plainly avowed by them, that much of their misery was the direct consequence of the misconduct of some of their own party, and a punishment

[6] Hakluyt, iii. 323—348.

inflicted upon them by God for it. Thus, in the description of their departure from Roanoak, on board Drake's fleet, we meet with this touching passage;

'For feare they should be left behinde, they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the natiue inhabitants of that countrey.'

Another evidence is the fact, that, notwithstanding the cruel acts committed by some of them, a desire had been manifested on the part of others, to teach the savages of those regions that truth, which alone could make the arrival of the European Colonist a blessing to them; and, that, in some instances, their teaching had made successful progress. A report had been raised among a party of the natives, during the temporary absence of Lane, that he and his company had been slain, or starved, by certain tribes whom they had gone to visit; and this report, it is said,

'Tooke such effect in' the breasts of those natives who were 'against us, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heauen, and Iesus Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God), now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed.'

The rash conclusion of these men was but a sample, indeed, of that spirit, which so often tempts the civilized, no less than the barbarian, to "judge according to the appearance," and therefore to "judge not righteous judgment" (John vii. 24); but, nevertheless, the very acknowledgment and confession of the true God and of His Son Jesus Christ, which, for a season,

the Indians had been led to make, in accordance with that service and worship which they saw paid by the Englishmen who had landed upon their shores, is a proof, that, among those Englishmen, there were not wanting the hearts of Christian men.

Remarkably illustrated by the report of Hariot.

A more remarkable and decisive testimony, to the same effect, occurs in the report made by Hariot, the most eminent man of their company. He published it the year after he and his comrades had been rescued from their perilous state, and brought home to England; and, having first described the geographical position of the country,

His notice of the discovery of Potatoes and Tobacco.

its soil, its climate, and natural productions,—among which Potatoes and Tobacco[7], then for the first time made known

[7] Hakluyt, iii. 324—340. He describes Potatoes, under the name of Openawk, as having the roots round, and 'hanging together as if fixed on ropes, and good for food, either boiled or roasted.'

Tobacco is called, also, by the name of Nicotia, from Jean Nicot, the French ambassador, who brought it out of Portugal into France, some years before. (Oldys' Ralegh, 74.) It had been discovered by the celebrated French navigator, Jaques Cartier, as early as the year 1535, in his second voyage to Canada; and the following report was then given of it: 'There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vse of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make pouder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it cometh out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they neuer goe without some of it about them. We ourselues haue tryed the same smoke, and hauing

to our own people, find a prominent place,—he next relates the character, customs, and religion of the na-

put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as Pepper.' Hakluyt, iii. 276.

Camden, in his Life of Elizabeth, thus describes its introduction into England, on the return of Lane's people: 'These men who were thus brought back were the first that I know of, that brought into England that Indian plant which they called Tabacca and Nicotia, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly, from that time forward, it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, whilst in a short time many men every where, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness suck'd in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils; insomuch that tobacco shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmen's bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, seem as 'twere to be degenerated into the nature of Barbarians, since they are delighted with the same things which the Barbarians use.'' Camden, in Bishop Kennet's History of England, ii. 509, 510.

Oldys, in his Life of Ralegh, p. 73, mentions the tradition of his smoking tobacco at first privately in his study, and of the servant, who used to wait on him there, surprising him one time with his tankard of ale and nutmeg as he was intent upon his book, before he had done his pipe; and seeing the smoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the ale into his face; then running down stairs alarmed the family with repeated exclamations, that his master was on fire, and before they could get up would be burnt to ashes. 'This,' Oldys adds, 'if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparalleled simplicity, than there was in that poor Norwegian, who upon the first sight of roses could not be induced to touch, though he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire; or, to come closer by way of retaliation, than there was in those Virginians themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of gunpowder which belonged to the English colony, sowed it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable, in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies.'

tives. He gained his knowledge of the latter, he says,

'By hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priests, wherein (he adds) they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more than wee had meanes for want of perfect utterance in their language, to expresse.'

The mathematical instruments, clocks, glasses, guns, and books, belonging to the English, made so great an impression upon the natives, that, he says,

'They thought they were rather the workes of Gods then of men, or at the least wise, they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such an opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.'

Influence gained over the natives.

Nor was the homage, which the instinctive sympathies of these untutored men paid to the superiority of Hariot, wasted by his own carelessness and want of zeal. On the contrary, he strove earnestly for their spiritual welfare.

'Many times (he says), and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of saluation, through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of itselfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined; yet would many

The Holy Scriptures declared to them by Hariot.

be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.'

The same faithfulness, which thus stimulated Hariot to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to these savages, led him and those who shared his spirit, to be constant in their own prayers, and to invite the chiefs likewise to bear their part in the same.

Their desire to be present at the public worship of the English.

'The Wiroans' (or chief) he adds, 'with whom we dwelt, called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with us at our prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others, whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partakers of the same effects which we by that means also expected. Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs, and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse; so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.'

and to be prayed for by them in sickness.

Such evidences valuable, yet overlooked by most writers.

It is impossible to read such passages, and not to be struck with the evidence which they afford of Christian zeal and constancy, manifested by members of the English Church, in that early effort to establish in a foreign land the knowledge and authority of the English name. The evidence ought more carefully to be observed, since it is, for the most part, passed over without any notice by the general historian. The rivalry of ambitious princes, the chivalrous daring of the mariner and the soldier who unfurl and fight beneath the banners of their leaders, the cupidity of the commercial adventurer who tempts them onwards to

the struggle, appear, in all their prominence, in well-nigh every page which details the growth of earthly empires. But those elements of truth and peace and holiness, which have been given that they may pervade and impregnate, with their healthful influence, each skilful device of man's counsels, and each changing department of man's actions; and to the furtherance of which all the energies of his nature are ordained to be subservient;—elements, so richly furnished by the Word of God, and conveyed so unceasingly through all those channels of His grace, which He has appointed in His Church,—are lost sight of amid the conflict of worldly interests. Wheresoever, therefore, the sound of this heavenly guide is heard in the wild uproar of human passions, and its light seen to break through the dark clouds of human ignorance, it is our privilege, as well as our duty, to recognise it, and to be thankful that we are thus permitted to trace, howsoever dimly and imperfectly, the testimony of its high prerogatives. Such testimony, we have seen, has been supplied in the commissions granted by royal authority to the first Colonists, who set sail from England; in the express avowal of the objects proposed to them, by one who was foremost in urging on the adventure; in the narrative of another, who, being entrusted with a share in the command of the expedition, alone of the commanders survived to tell of the perils of land and sea, from which he had escaped; in the spirit which animated others, who renewed the attempt in which their countrymen had failed; and, especially, in the efforts of those, who were the most distinguished among the first settlers in Virginia, to hold up the light of Christianity to the uncivilized tribes of that mighty continent.

With respect to Hariot, indeed, there is another benefit arising out of the possession of such evidence, namely, the testimony which it bears to his own belief in, and reverence for, the Word of God. This character has been denied to him by Wood, in the Athenæ Oxonienses; and it is cheering, therefore, to feel assured, that, in this instance, Wood has been mistaken. It is an assurance largely imparted to us, even in the records at which we have just glanced, and has been confirmed, we gratefully acknowledge, by other biographers, in foreign countries as well as our own, who have carefully directed their attention to this point [8].

Valuable, also, as giving a right view of the character of Hariot.

[8] It is thus noticed in the Biographie Universelle, (Art. Hariot) 'Wood a cherché à répandre des doutes sur les sentiments religieux d'Harriot; mais ses raisons ont été solidement refutées dans le Dictionnaire de Chaufepié.' It appears also, that, in the inscription upon Hariot's monument in the church of St. Christopher, London, where he was buried, care was taken to vindicate his name from the reproach which had been cast upon it, by an explicit statement of his true belief;—the concluding line being 'Dei Trinitatis cultor piissimus.' The church was destroyed by the fire of London; but the inscription is preserved in Stowe's Survey, i. 123. See also Oldys's Life of Ralegh, 170—172. For an account of Hariot's valuable work on Algebra, see Playfair's Preliminary Dissertation, Encyc. Brit. i. 443.

Upon the return of Hariot to England, he was introduced by Ralegh to Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland, during that nobleman's unjust imprisonment in the Tower; and, from the intimacy which ensued between them, strengthened by their mutual love for the same scientific pursuits (Collins's Peerage, ii. 340,) Hariot's papers were left in the possession of the Percy family at Petworth. The late Professor Rigaud, of Oxford, was permitted, by the late Earl of Egremont, to examine them; and published, in his Appendix to Bradley's Works, Hariot's observations of Halley's Comet, in 1607. In the hope that I might also meet, in the re-

Another attempt to colonize Virginia, under White.

The further attempts towards colonization in North America, during the remaining years of Elizabeth's reign, were feeble and unsuccessful. The most important of them was that just noticed, under Captain White, at the charge of Ralegh. He went out with a company of one hundred and fifty men, over whom he was appointed governor. Twelve assistants were associated with him in this trust, and a Charter of Incorporation was given, constituting them 'Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.' They succeeded in establishing a friendly interest and alliance with the natives; but, as it was absolutely necessary that some one of their party should be sent home for the purpose of obtaining fresh supplies, and great difference of opinion prevailed among them with regard to the selection of the proper agent for that office, they at length persuaded the governor himself to return to England, that he might procure what was needed. He accordingly embarked, and reached England before the end of the year.

The first Baptism of a native of Virginia.

It is worthy of remark, that, during the brief stay of these adventurers in the country, occurred the first Baptism of a native, Manteo, who had become known and endeared to the English by valuable services rendered to Lane and his followers. He had accompanied them also to England, when they were brought home by Drake;

maining manuscripts, with some further notices of Virginia by the same hand, I readily availed myself of the permission, kindly granted me by Colonel Wyndham, to examine them: but the search was fruitless. I met, however, in the Library at Petworth, with some rare tracts on Virginia, published in the early part of James the First's reign, which I have been glad to consult.

and, upon his return to Virginia, with the band under White's command, was again found acting as a faithful guide, interpreter, and friend. As a reward for these services, he was appointed Lord of Roanoak, by Ralegh; and, in that island, was baptized, August 13, 1587. The length of time during which Manteo had been acquainted with the religion, as well as with the language and customs, of the English, and the opportunities which his visit to England must have afforded of learning more fully the magnitude of the blessings vouchsafed by it, may justify us in the belief that he was not admitted to be partaker of them by Baptism, except with a full trust in the reality of those truths of which he then made profession, and with a sincere desire to be subject to the obligations of holiness which they imposed. Five days after the baptism of Manteo, we read, in the same narrative,

'Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia[9].

Supplies intercepted, and the Colony lost.

The mission of the governor to England, to obtain supplies for the infant Colony, proved fruitless. The alarm which prevailed throughout England, at the beginning of the year 1588, in consequence of the formidable Armada about to be sent forth against her by Spain, and the preparations required to resist it,—the successful issue of which it is needless here to relate,—prevented Ralegh from sending more than two small pinnaces for the relief of his company in Virginia; and these, having fallen in with the enemy, were compelled to

[9] Hakluyt, iii. 341—348.

return home disabled [10]. The Colony, in consequence, was lost. And, although White proceeded again to Virginia, for the last time, in 1590, with a squadron of three sail, he returned before the end of autumn, without having advanced a single step towards the satisfactory formation of a settlement in that country, or having ascertained any thing as to the fate of his miserable countrymen who had been left there [11]. The expedition, to use his own words, 'was no less unfortunately ended than frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to' himself. He ascribes its failure to the neglect of the orders, issued by Ralegh, for its preparation and conduct. And the cause of such neglect, probably, may be found in the diversion of Ralegh's mind to the other, and, as he thought, more inviting scenes which, at that period, were opening to his view in South America. So little ground of encouragement had he to persevere in his first scheme of colonizing Virginia, and so eager was he to realise the fresh hopes which sprang up before him, that he had already made over, in the year 1588-9 [12], to Sir Thomas Smith, and a Company of merchants in London, all the rights and privileges conferred upon

White's last voyage to Virginia, in 1590, not productive of any benefit.

Ralegh makes over his Patent to Sir Thomas Smith and others.

[10] Oldys's Life of Ralegh, 99.

[11] Hakluyt, iii. 349—357. Bancroft, quoting Lawson's North Carolina, says, 'The conjecture has been hazarded that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. This was the tradition of the natives at a later day, and was thought to be confirmed by the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and Indian race seemed to have been blended.' i. 108.

[12] Oldys's Life of Ralegh, 117. This transfer is erroneously

him by Elizabeth. But, whilst Ralegh thus relinquished the formal superintendence of expeditions in which, for so long a time, he had been engaged, he did not entirely sever the bonds which had connected his name with them. He spared no pains and expense to find out and recover the remnants of the former Colonies; and, although his just and generous purposes were baffled by the iniquity of his agents, he was still ready to assist the Company with his advice and interest, and, moreover, presented them with a donation of £100 'for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia[13].' It is interesting to observe this fact, because, as far as I can learn, it was the first offering, avowedly made by any Englishman, for such a purpose; and may be regarded, as a token of the reverence of him who made it for that truth which shall survive all the changing counsels of a changing world; and of the desire which he felt to advance its power, amid the excitements and reverses of his own perilous career.

Gives £100 for the propagation of the Christian faith in Virginia.

Whatsoever may have been the wishes or designs of Ralegh, with respect to the future management of the Colony, they were not realised by the hands of those to whom he delegated the important trust. The commercial relations with Virginia, if such they could be called, were very feebly sustained; and no steps were taken towards the permanent occupation of the country. Hence, notwithstanding all the ingenious counsels and daring adventures of our countrymen, prose-

No trace of English power in Virginia, at the end of Elizabeth's reign.

assigned by Robertson, in his History of America, to the year 1596, Works, xi. 172.

[13] Purchas, iv. 1653; Oldys's Life of Ralegh, 118.

cuted, with few intermissions, throughout the whole century which had elapsed since the discovery of North America by Cabot, no lasting monument of the British power, was, at its close, visible in any part of that continent.

The foreign relations, in the 16th century, of Portugal.

The efforts of other European nations, during the same period, to extend their dominion in foreign lands, had been more successful. The earliest years of the 16th century saw the viceroys of Portugal establishing their authority in India, along the marts and havens of the Persian gulf, on the peninsula of Malacca, the Molucca Islands, the eastern and western shores of Africa, and the coasts of Brazil. The lapse of a few years more found them masters of the chief harbours of Ceylon, and extending their settlements to Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. A connexion was also formed by them with China; and the name of Xavier alone is sufficient to make for ever memorable their entrance into Japan. The commerce of the same people embraced even a wider range than their dominion; so that, in many places, where her factories and fortresses were not erected, the flag of Portugal was seen to wave, and her merchants found a market for their stores. But her colonial strength decayed, with a rapidity nearly equal to that which had marked its growth; and, before the close of the 16th century, the supremacy, which Portugal had exercised in the Eastern hemisphere, was well-nigh extinct.

Of Spain.

The history of Spain, likewise, in the same age, had been marked by her rapid acquirement of vast and extensive Colonies. The islands in the Gulf of Mexico, discovered by Columbus, and the provinces of Mexico, Peru, and Chili, were all made

her's by conquest, ere the first half of the 16th century had passed away. Her learning, her science, her religion, were established there; and thence were carried home her stores of silver and of gold. Soon afterwards, she laid her strong hand upon many of the possessions of her rival Portugal, in the opposite quarter of the globe; and, in the reign of the second Philip, usurped authority over that rich cluster of islands in the Eastern Archipelago, which still bear the name of that sovereign, and, with the exception of Cuba, form, at this day, the most valuable of her Colonial possessions.

Of Holland and France.

The Dutch Republic also had become, towards the latter part of the same century, one of the first commercial nations of the earth; and France was already laying the foundations of that extended dominion, which influenced so powerfully, in after-ages, the destinies of Europe[14]. England was second to none of all these nations, in courage, and patience, and perseverance. Her merchants were even then "the honourable of the earth;" her ships had compassed the world; her soldiers had withstood the armies of the Spanish tyrant, in the plains of the Low Countries; and, when the proud Armada hung upon

[14] Heeren's Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, i. 40—137. He observes, very justly, that the way in which the discoveries of Portugal were originally made, and the state of the countries discovered, caused, from the beginning, her colonial affairs to differ very widely from those of Spain. The mines of South America naturally led the Spaniards to acquire extensive territories in that continent; but, India affording no like temptations to the Portuguese, who abstained from directly making themselves masters of any large extent of country; and contented themselves with founding settlements in the most eligible stations for general commerce.

her shores, to pour destruction upon them, her mariners had scattered it in confusion. How often too had these same energies, displayed by her sons, been directed to the work of setting up her name and power in foreign lands! But all had hitherto been in vain. The territorial boundaries of her empire were still the coasts of the British Isles. Her Colonies were only a name.

Discoveries of the English in other quarters.

Before I notice her next attempt to plant a settlement in Virginia, I propose to take a brief survey of the progress of discoveries which England made, in other quarters of the world, during the reign of Elizabeth.

Frobisher's voyages to the north-west.

Foremost of these were the three voyages, made by Frobisher, in the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, in search of the north-west passage, through which, it was still believed, a way might be found to India and China. He failed, indeed, in attaining the avowed object for which his voyages were undertaken; and the region, which he wished to penetrate, remained,—as it was termed by Elizabeth, and as it still remains to others, who have so often renewed the attempt since,—'Meta Incognita.' Nevertheless, some particulars of interesting information were obtained by Frobisher of the shores along which he directed his course; and evidence has been abundantly supplied, in the accounts which have come down to us, of the courage, zeal, and patience, which he and his comrades displayed in those fruitless expeditions. To detail these particulars does not fall within my province; but I will cite the following entry, in the Journal of Frobisher's second voyage, because it shows the faith of these brave mariners,

and the source from which the secret of their strength was drawn:

Devout spirit of the mariners,

'On Whit-Sunday, being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anker at Blackwall, and fell that tyde down to Grauesend, where we remained vntill Monday at night. On Monday morning, the 27 of May, aboord the Ayde, we received all the Communion by the Minister of Grauesend, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilberry Hope [15].'

We read not of any clergyman who sailed with Frobisher in his two first voyages. And, since they were made as mere experiments, without any definite purpose of colonization, there were probably good reasons for confining the number of the ships' companies to those only who were to navigate them. But, in Frobisher's third voyage, in 1578, when an hundred persons were taken out to settle in the land which he had discovered, the following passages, which relate to the services of Wolfall, their chaplain, are recorded in his Journal.

And of Master Wolfall their Preacher, in the third voyage.

The first relates to the feelings of the party, upon rejoining some of their comrades from whom they had been separated, and whom they had never expected to see again.

'Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly praysed God, and altogither vpon their knees gaue him due, humble, and heartie thanks; and Maister Wolfall, a learned man, appointed by her Maiestie's Councell to be their Minister and Preacher, made vnto them a godly sermon,

[15] Hakluyt, iii. 52—129.

exhorting them especially to be thankefull to God for their strange and miraculous deliuerance in those so dangerous places and putting them in mind of the vncertainetie of man's life, willed them to make themselues alwayes readie as resolute men to enioy and accept thankefully whatsoeuer aduenture his diuine Prouidence should appoint. This Maister Wolfall, being well seated and settled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honest woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to saue soules, and to reforme these Infidels if it were possible to Christianitie: and also partly for the great desire that he had that this notable voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay the whole yeare, if occasion had serued, being in euery necessary action as forward as the resolutest men of all. Wherefore, in this behalfe, he may rightly be called a true Pastor and Minister of God's Word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his owne life.'

The next notice of this good man's ministrations occurs towards the end of the Journal:

'Master Wolfall on Winter's Fornace preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion euer knowen in these quarters. The said M. Wolfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times, in seuerall and sundry ships, because the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place [16].'

Letters Patent granted to Adrian Gilbert.

The failure of Frobisher's attempts to penetrate the north-west passage did not deter others from renewing them. The zeal displayed by Sir Humfrey Gilbert and Ralegh, in the prosecution of such attempts, was shared by another member of the same family, Adrian Gilbert;

[16] Hakluyt, 116, &c.

and in the year (1583) which witnessed the loss of his brother Humfrey, a Patent was granted to him and others, under the name of 'The Colleagues of the fellowship for the discoverie of the North west passage.' The Patent states in its preamble, that it was granted in consideration of the great cost and charges which he had incurred in seeking 'a passage vnto China and the Iles of the Moluccas, by the North westward, North eastward, or Northward.' Ralegh was one of those engaged in making preparations for the enterprise; and Davis, the celebrated navigator, having been appointed to conduct it, made three several voyages, in the years 1585, 1586, and 1587, in promotion of its objects[17]. For the particulars connected with them, I again refer the reader to the authority already cited in the case of Frobisher; and whosoever examines that authority with care will readily assign to each of those distinguished mariners,—unsuccessful though they were in the immediate object of their search,—the same character for bold, and patient, and persevering, energy. Their names still live in the seas, which intersect the shores of the inclement region which they sought to penetrate; that of Frobisher, designating the strait between Resolution and Cumberland Islands; and that of Davis, the yet broader channel which separates Greenland from the most northern provinces of North America.

Davis's three voyages in consequence.

Turning our attention next to the Old World, let us see the progress now made by the English in exploring those extensive portions of it to which they had hitherto been

Renewal of English commerce in the Levant.

[17] Hakluyt, 129—157; Oldys's Life of Ralegh, 64.

strangers. A license had been obtained from Solyman, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, to trade with his dominions; but twenty-two years elapsed before any steps were taken to profit by it. A movement, however, was made in that direction in 1575, chiefly at the instigation of Sir Edward Osborne,—an influential citizen of London, and ancestor of the present noble family of that name,—who, acting in concert with some other merchants, sent William Harborne as an agent to Constantinople, and obtained privileges of trade from the Sultan Murad. These privileges were secured by a treaty between the two countries, in 1580; and Harborne, becoming the accredited ambassador at the court of Constantinople, enforced them by the appointment of consuls at the chief ports of Africa, Egypt, and Syria[18].

Its extension to Africa.

The mention of Africa opens to our view another field of action, into which our countrymen ventured, at the same time, to enter. The attempts, in Mary's reign, to trade with the coast of Guinea, we have seen, had failed; and her successor used every exertion to renew and extend it to other regions of the same continent. In 1572, a treaty was made between England and Portugal, for the better adjustment of their trade with the coast of Guinea. Again, in 1577, Elizabeth sent an ambassador to the Emperor of Morocco, and obtained, upon that and a subsequent occasion, certain commercial privileges for her subjects. In 1585, she formed by Letters Patent a new Company, among whose members was Robert, Earl of Leicester, for the management of the trade with Barbary and Morocco. In 1588, she granted

[18] Hakluyt, ii. 253—299.

another Patent to some merchants of Exeter to trade with Senegal; and another, in 1592, to 'Thomas Gregory, of Tanton, and others, for traffique betweene the river of Nonnia and the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona on the coast of Guinea.' And, in 1597, a letter was addressed by Elizabeth, 'to the most invincible and puissant King of the Abassens [Abyssinians], the mightie Emperor of Æthiopia, the higher and the lower,' commending to his gracious protection her subject Laurence Aldersey, who was about to travel in his dominions, and expressing her desire that the renown of the Abyssinian king's name should be brought unto her 'from the fountains of Nilus, and from those regions which are situate vnder the Southern Tropike [19].'

First traces of the Slave Trade by the English.

Few other footsteps of the British power were, at that time, visible in Africa; and they were directed to ends which it is painful to contemplate. The hateful traffic of the Slave Trade, indeed, in its systematic form, was reserved to be the burden of a later age; yet its beginning is discerned in the present reign [20]. As early as the year 1562, the celebrated English Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins, having heard, in his voyages to the Canaries, of the profits which might be realised from the sale of Negroes in the West Indian possessions of Spain, sailed from Plymouth for the coast of Guinea, in command of a small squadron, which

[19] Hakluyt, ii. 541—613. iii. 7—20.

[20] The beginning of the Slave Trade in Europe may be dated from the year 1443, when an association was formed by some of the leading Portuguese for the avowed purposes of carrying on jointly the Gold and Slave trade. Bandinel's Account of the Slave Trade, p. 16.

had been fitted out by private subscription, in order that he might obtain a share in that unrighteous spoil. He carried off 300 Negroes; transported them to St. Domingo; sold them at a great profit; and returned next year to England, flushed with success. This voyage was followed by a second, for like purposes, in 1564, when he visited Cuba, and ranged all the coast of Florida; and, again, by a third in 1567, when he seems to have been accompanied by his kinsman, Francis Drake[21]. The nefarious traffic to which these voyages led the way did not, at that time, yield to the agents employed in it the gain which they had hoped to realise; for Hawkins thus closes the account of his third expedition:

'If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorrowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a painfull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the Martyrs.'

It has been said, that Elizabeth was quick to discern, and to forbid, the evils which would inevitably result from the forcible carrying off the African from his native land; and that she sent for Hawkins, upon his return from his first voyage, and expressed her concern lest any Negroes should have been taken by him without their free consent, declaring 'that it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers.' Hawkins too is said to have promised compliance with the Queen's commands in this respect; and the conclusion is hence drawn, that his subsequent voyages could only have been permitted, by her being kept in ignorance of the

[21] Campbell's Lives of British Admirals, i. 494; Hakluyt, iii. 592—623.

wrongs then perpetrated [22]. I could have wished that this conclusion had been the true one; for better were it that the burden of this reproach should rest upon the single adventurer who first drew it upon himself, than upon those, who, standing in the high places of the earth, had power to restrain him from evil acts, and restrained him not. But the absence of any concealment (in the published reports of these voyages) as to the methods employed to transport slaves, and the honours conferred upon the commander himself bearing direct and visible testimony to the nature and success of his work, lead me to doubt the correctness of this conclusion [23].

The English often carried into slavery, and efforts made to rescue them from it.

Slavery there was, also, of another kind, witnessed at the same period,—barbarous and cruel, as it ever has been,—which Turkish pirates, and the rovers that issued forth from the ports of Tunis, Sallee, and Algiers, inflicted upon the Christian merchants and mariners of England [24]. The wrongs, suffered by these

[22] Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, i. 40, 41.

[23] Campbell, in his Lives of the Admirals, i. 405, states, that the skill and success of Hawkins, after his second voyage, 'had raised him to such a reputation, that Mr. Harvey, then Clarencieux king at arms, granted him, by patent, for his crest, "a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord:" a worthy symbol of the infamous traffic which he had opened to his country.' Prince, in his Worthies of Devon, relates the same circumstance.

[24] Frequent notices of this fact occur in the theological writings of the 16th and 17th centuries. Bishop Andrewes, for example, in a Sermon from the text, Ps. lxviii. 18, "Thou art gone up," &c. (preached by him before King James the First, on Whit-Sunday, 1612), illustrates the phrase of leading "captivity captive," by the capturing of Turkish pirates who had themselves captured the Christians. Works, iii. 230.

unhappy men, received the deepest sympathy of their countrymen at home; and our rulers, both temporal and spiritual, were prompt and eager to ransom them, and to protect them from further outrage. Two memorable evidences of this compassion and care are to be found in the annals of that time. The first, is an express stipulation insisted upon by Elizabeth, in the Patent granted by her, in 1585, to the Morocco Company, that none of the English should in future be enslaved in that country[25]. The second, is a circular letter, sent by Archbishop Whitgift, in 1596, to the Bishops throughout his Province, urging them to make a collection 'in every diocese of the better sort of the people, for the delivery of their poor countrymen now in slavery under the Turk[26].'

It had been a happy lot for England, if they who were thus faithful, thus zealous, to restrain the oppressor, and vindicate the captive from his grasp, had not been debased by their association with others, their countrymen, who were in their turn tyrants, and dragged the Negro from his home to be an exile and a slave for ever. And happier yet had it been for her, if the generations of her children, in later times, had not continued to pursue the same guilty course. It is the glory, indeed, of our own day, to know that this course is stayed; that the Legislature has de-

[25] Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 178.

[26] Strype's Life of Whitgift, ii. 334—336. In many Parochial Registers and other documents, entries may still be found of the amounts of collections made for the above object. In Ellis's Original Letters illustrative of English History, (Second Series, i. 268,) a copy is given of Letters issued in 1516, by Henry VIII., for a charitable collection toward the relief of prisoners in Barbary;—the earliest record, it is supposed, of this kind.

creed, that it shall be our reproach no longer; and that the nation has largely supplied the means to make that decree good. Nevertheless, the blot has disfigured the annals of our country, for upwards of two hundred years; and we cannot wipe out its stain.

Asia, the great object of attraction to Europe.

The next quarter of the globe, with which, after many abortive efforts, a direct communication was effected by the English, before the end of Elizabeth's reign, is the continent of Asia. To gain access to that continent, had been the desire of European nations in every age. The fame of Eastern wealth and power, made known by the commerce of Tyre, and by the conquests of Alexander, had first awakened that desire; and men were eager to gain a share of the treasures, which those distant climes were reported to possess. The gems, the ivory, the silks, and perfumes of India, transmitted through Egypt, had ministered to the luxuries of Rome, under her earliest Emperors; and the caravans, which consumed the greater portion of a year, traversing the vast tracts of country, from China to the sea-coast of Syria, continued to find, in the 3rd and 4th centuries, a sure and profitable market for the closely-woven silks which they transported [27]. Thus, too, in after-ages, when the glory and strength of Rome had fallen, and Constantinople had become the capital of the Greek empire, India was still the source from which that city drew the richest materials of her commerce. And, during the time of the crusades, when Pisa, and Genoa, and Venice, sent forth their

[27] Gibbon's Decline, Fall, &c. vii. 90—96.

> argosies with portly sail,
> Like signiors and rich burghers of the flood,
> Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,
> Which overpeer'd the petty traffickers [28];

the productions of Asiatic countries still formed their most important cargoes, and furnished the staple of their most costly manufactures. The hopes and expectations thus raised, and the curiosity thus excited, were stimulated into quicker action by the reports of Marco Polo in the 13th, and Sir John Mandeville in the 14th centuries; and to discover a passage to this rich storehouse of the East, was the problem constantly present to the minds of the geographers and mariners of that day.

The discovery of the mariner's compass [29], and the application of the astrolabe to the purposes of navigation,—coeval with the same period,—supplied fresh facilities for the solution of the problem. And, keeping the same object in view, the princes of Portugal, in the 15th century, sent forth their adventurous subjects along the west of Africa, until they reached its furthest promontory to the south, and changed its name from the Cape of Storms to the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, too, before the tidings were announced to Europe that the 'Good Hope' was realised, and that Vasco de Gama had indeed found the course to India around that Cape, it was the desire to reach the same country by another channel, which gave brightness to the visions of Columbus, and energy to his zeal, and which opened a pathway to the western world. Similar testimony is supplied in the history of those later

[28] Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, Act i. Scene i.

[29] Leslie's Preliminary Dissertation, Encyc. Brit. i. 624.

expeditions, which were fitted out and sailed from our own shores. In whatsoever quarter their course was directed, whether to the north-east, or to the north-west, the discovery of Cathay was, avowedly and uniformly, the great object of attraction. So probable did it appear to those who set out upon such perilous adventures, that a passage to that country would be found along the ice-bound coasts of the Arctic regions, and so strongly were their minds bent upon exploring it, that neither the fearful losses of men and ships, in some instances, nor the repeated disappointments of their hopes in others, where their lives were spared, could force them to abandon the design. The Patents, repeatedly granted by the Crown for the prosecution of it, made always some distinct reference to the same point, as the ultimate object of attainment. The travels of the agents of the Russia Company to Astracan, and, across the Caspian, to Bokhara and the Persian court, were undertaken and renewed, as means likely to secure the acquisition so long sought after; and when, upon the strength of the discoveries then made, a fresh Charter was granted to the Russia Company, in the 8th year of Elizabeth, the hope was distinctly expressed therein, that, 'by God's grace, they might discover also the country of Cathaia.'

The first English merchants reach India overland.

Still was the same project urged forward through other channels. Letters were addressed by Elizabeth to the Kings of Cambay [30] and China, in 1583, and sent by the hands of some English merchants, two of whom published an account, still extant, of their proceedings.

[30] A city, situated at the head of the gulf which bears the same name, 240 miles north of Bombay, and now belonging to the English.

Their course was by Tripoli in Syria, and by Aleppo, to Babylon; and thence to Ormus, where they suffered imprisonment. Upon their release, they proceeded to Goa, which had been for more than half a century the capital of the Portuguese dominion in Hindustan, and the seat of the Viceroy's court. From that city, the apprehension of ill treatment soon compelled them to depart; and, proceeding to the north, and north-east, they came to the court of Akbar, in whose service, one of their party, Leades, a jeweller, remained. Another of them, Newbery, proceeded homewards by way of Lahore, but died upon his journey. The rest went on to visit, among other places, Agra and Patna. After which, going to Macao, Pegu, Malacca, and Ceylon, they crossed to the coast of Malabar, where they touched at Cochin and Calicut. They then returned to England, by the same course which they had followed at the outset, and reached it after an absence of eight years. In consequence of the opening thus made, a second Patent was granted by Elizabeth, in 1592, to the Levant Company. Sir Edward Osborne was appointed its first governor; and authority was given to them to extend their trade into all those countries of the East, including India, of which authentic information had been thus brought home.

Enlarged authority given to the Levant Company.

These earliest relations of our own country with India, were but the prelude to others which soon afterwards arose. Already had one solitary Englishman, Thomas Stevens, sailed from Lisbon, on board a Portuguese ship, for Goa; and the letter written from that city, in 1579, to his parents, giving a minute ac-

Lancaster reaches India by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

count of his voyage, is recorded by Hakluyt. But, ere long, Hakluyt had the satisfaction of writing down from the mouth of an officer, who himself bore a command in the expedition, the account of the first voyage made by an English vessel, the Edward Bonaventura, to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1591[31].

The highway to the East now seemed fairly open; and, soon after the return of Lancaster, captain of the Bonaventura, to England, on the last day of the year 1600, Elizabeth granted a Charter to George Earl of Cumberland and others, to be a body corporate by the name of the 'Governor and company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies[32].' The progress of the traffic quickly began to interest the public mind; and, in the course of a few years, frequent allusions to it are found in the works of some of the distinguished writers of the time[33].

Incorporation of the first East India Company.

It will be seen, then, from the review here taken, that a distinct and experimental knowledge had been acquired by the English, of the most distant and opposite quarters of the globe, during the long reign of Elizabeth. No permanent settlements, it is true, were effected any where throughout this period. Whilst some of the richest provinces of the east and of the

Summary of English discoveries under Elizabeth.

[31] Hakluyt, ii. 382—592.

[32] Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 216; Bruce's Annals of the E. I. Company, i. 136.

[33] For instance, in a Sermon preached by Donne at St. Paul's, on Whit-Sunday, 1627, the following passage occurs: 'If I have no adventure in an East Indian return, then I be none the richer, neither am I poorer than I was, &c.' Works, i. 521.

west were tributary to Portugal and Spain, the territories of England were still confined to her own sea-girt shore. Yet, were the foundations of her future greatness laid in the very efforts which had appeared so fruitless. Her flag had entered the icy straits of Greenland and Labrador, and passed the northern extremities of Norway, Russia, and Lapland; had been set up, in token of sovereignty, in the chief haven of Newfoundland; had waved, once and again, upon the shores of Virginia; had mingled in the shock of battle, amid the islands of the West Indies and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru; and, as it floated through the straits of Magellan, across the Pacific and Indian oceans, had been welcomed by native chieftains of islands within the tropics. It had been unfurled, also, for a brief season, upon the waters of the Caspian sea, by those whose adventurous course led them, in that direction, from Russia; and had been carried, along the banks of the Oxus, into the Persian territory. It had visited the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Levant, and the southern coasts of the Mediterranean sea; had long been known to the traffickers of the Canary isles, and those who dwelt upon the shores of Guinea and Benin; and, at length, pursuing its way to the islands and continents of the East, had passed the southern Cape of Africa.

Reflections thereon.

By the prosecution of these varied enterprises, a way was opened to the vast possessions, which now form the Colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. I have given, as briefly as I could, the narrative of their progress thus far, and shall continue to do so with respect to the sequel; because it is impossible, without some general knowledge of the manner by which the Colonies themselves were

acquired, to discern clearly that portion of their history, which is described in the present work. The motives, which prompted such great exertions on the part of our countrymen, it must be confessed, were, for the most part, those of pride, and avarice, and ambition. In making this acknowledgment, I am not unmindful of the fact, that there were many, bearing a prominent part in some of these expeditions, who faithfully recognised the great and sacred obligations, which are imposed upon every Christian nation by the extension of her temporal power; and who manifested also a desire to discharge those obligations to the uttermost. Neither have I forgotten, that, in some of the earliest documents which exist,—containing either instructions for the management of such expeditions, or conferring privileges upon those who were entrusted with the command of them,—an express and formal avowal of the same holy principles appears. So far from leaving these points out of consideration, or undervaluing the important testimony which they supply, I have taken care to bring them distinctly under the attention of the reader; and have asked him to mark them, the more carefully, because they are seldom, if ever, noticed by the general historian. Nevertheless, after making, freely and gratefully, every admission which the authority of such evidence demands, it is impossible to look abroad upon the lands and seas traversed by our countrymen in that day, and observe the labours, the conflicts, the perils which they encountered, and not feel that it was the thirst of gold, the lust of power, the jealousy of rival thrones, which urged them forward to the struggle; and that violence and fraud were the means which they employed to gain for themselves the victory. Such

elements of disturbance are at work for ever in the world, because they are the fruits of sin; and sin is not yet destroyed. But He, who can alone bring low man's proud desires, and smooth his rugged passions, and make straight his crooked paths, and turn even his erring counsels into instruments for accomplishing His own righteous will,—'so that what was first in God's providence, was but second in man's appetite and intention[34],'—has supplied, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the remedy which can alone keep down effectually the fearful outbreaks of human sinfulness. It was manifestly, therefore, the duty of that portion of His Church, which proclaimed the message of that Gospel, and dispensed its ordinances in our own land, to do what in her lay, at such a moment, to infuse into the heaving mass of selfish and greedy appetites, the sanctifying and wholesome leaven entrusted to her hands. When tidings were conveyed to her, from every quarter, of land and seas laid open, which before were not known, or only vaguely heard of; and,—when the knowledge of such tidings was giving fresh impulse and new hopes, to the mariner, the merchant, the man of science, the statesman, and the soldier,—it was her part to proclaim more loudly the righteousness of Him who was alone the God of their salvation; and to impress, yet more faithfully, upon the curious and busy multitude around her, the lessons of His blessed truth, who is "the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea." The eye of sense was dazzled by the pearls and costly gems brought from afar; but the "one pearl of great price" out-

[34] Bacon's Advertisement touching an Holy War. Works, vii. 123.

weighed them all; and it was for her to lead her people, the more diligently, to seek it, that, finding and retaining that treasure, they might be rich indeed. And, further still, if any of them were about to leave their father-land, that they might find, for the benefit of themselves and of their fellow-countrymen, a dwelling-place and a home in other quarters of the globe, she was bound still to follow them with the Word of God, with her prayers and ordinances; seeking ever to be "present in spirit" with those who were "absent in body;" and holding up to the barbarians, in whose land her children thus fixed their habitation, the light which should "guide" their "feet into the way of peace[35]."

The examination, which we are about to make, will show how far the Church was mindful of this sacred duty; and how far the difficulties which she had to encounter, acted as hindrances to the proper discharge of her responsibilities. That there were difficulties,—heavy and appalling,—which assailed her from within and from without, is a fact which the history to be pursued by us will reveal in characters too plain to be misunderstood. And the record of them will not be without profit, if, by teaching us to form a true estimate of the services performed, the errors committed, and the perils passed through, by the men of a former generation, we may be the better prepared to endure the trials, and discharge the duties, and surmount the obstacles, which await us in our own.

[35] Ps. lxv. 5; Matt. xiii. 45, 46; 1 Cor. v. 3; Luke i. 79.

CHAPTER IV.

CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT HOME, UNDER ELIZABETH AND JAMES I.

A.D. 1558—1625.

Condition of the Church of England at the time of the planting our first Colonies, and the causes of it.

I HAVE said that the difficulties which beset the Church of England, in the age which witnessed the planting of her first Colonies, grievously impeded her ministrations, in those new fields of labour. These difficulties were so various, and, all of them, so closely interwoven with the texture of our National history, that it is not possible to trace their consequences abroad, without first taking a brief survey of the causes which originated them at home. And this I will attempt in the present chapter.

The reference already made to the commencement of the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII., its progress under Edward VI., the check which it received from Mary, and its renewal and completion upon the accession of Elizabeth, prepares us, in some degree, for the opposition which the Reformed Church of our land would be likely to encounter, on the one side, from Rome, eager to regain the power which she had lost,—and, on the other side, from those, whose dread

of Romish tyranny and Romish corruptions led them to recoil from every thing which had borne her name, or was associated with her services. Amid the din and turmoil of disputes so complicated, and in an age of such sharp despotism, it is no marvel that the champions of the truth themselves should have failed sometimes to listen to her commands, and been betrayed into the performance of acts which her voice condemns, and of which her followers are ashamed.

Acts of Supremacy and Conformity, 1558-9.

The commencement of Elizabeth's reign was marked by the passing of two Acts of Supremacy and Conformity, which incorporated the Church of England with the constitution of the Realm. The first 'restored to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolished all foreign powers repugnant to the same.' The second legally re-established the Reformed worship, and prohibited any change of its rites and discipline, except with the sanction of the appointed rulers of the Church [1].

The Queen's Injunctions concerning the Clergy and Laity.

The objects intended to be secured by these Acts, were further explained in the 'Injunctions given by the Queen's Majesty, concerning both the Clergy and Laity of this Realm,' and published in the same year [2]. These Injunctions, after setting forth certain provisions for

[1] Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 152. 231; Gladstone's State in its relations with the Church, ii. 118. In the last quoted passage, it is shown clearly that neither the number nor authority of the Romish prelates, who opposed the passing of the above Acts, invalidated the fact that the Elizabethan Reformation was founded on, and ratified and accepted by, the authority of the National Church.

[2] Bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c. 66—84, 2nd ed. The chief points of difference between these Injunc-

the faithful and regular discharge of the duties devolving upon the various orders of the Clergy, contain also 'An Admonition to simple men, deceived by malicious,' in which reference is distinctly made to the oath, required under the Act of Supremacy; and to the restraints, by which it was still intended to controul the authority of the crown. Some persons, it appears, had inferred, from the terms of the said oath, that thereby 'the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, might challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the Church.' The correctness of such an interpretation is consequently denied, and the assertion broadly made, that no other authority was, or would be, exercised by the Queen than that which 'was, of ancient time, due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they may be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them[3].'

tions of Elizabeth, and those of Edward, twelve years before, are given in Blunt's History of the Reformation, 309—311; and are worthy of notice, as showing the progress of opinion which had been made in the interval. See also Cardwell's Documentary Annals, &c. i. 178—209.

[3] Sparrow ut sup. 81, 82. Hallam, in his Constit. Hist. i. 152, has rightly called the attention of the reader to the above document, and pointed out the importance of that 'contemporaneous exposition of the law' which it contains. This exposition was further confirmed by a proclamation, issued by Elizabeth ten years afterwards, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which it is expressly stated, that 'she claimed no other ecclesiastical authority than had been due to her predecessors; that she pre-

The principle, upon which such Acts were passed, and such explanations concerning them promulgated, was the belief, that the whole body of citizens, united under one temporal governor, the Sovereign, could alone be preserved in peace and order, by the exercise, on the one hand, of those means of grace which were ministered through the Church; and by being protected, on the other, from the encroachment of any power, from within or from without, which interfered with the authority of the Crown. The authority, thus established, was not the intrusion of secular dominion into matters spiritual, or the judgment of human tribunals upon truths which the Spirit of God alone had revealed, and of which His Church is the appointed keeper and witness. Still less was it any compromise of the trust committed to the keeping of the Church, any faithless desire to reap temporal benefit, at the cost of her own integrity, which led her thus to recognise the supremacy of the Crown. The essential characteristics which belonged to her, in her separate condition, were not lost by her incorporation with State, any more than were those of the State itself. A freer course only was opened for the exercise of her proper functions, and the solemn avowal more distinctly made, that the glory of God was the salvation of His people. True, the coercive

ended no right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies formerly adopted by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or to minister the word or the sacraments of God; but that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion, to see all laws ordained for that end duly observed, and to provide that the Church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers.' See Gladstone, ut sup. ii. 24.

power, supplied by this union of the ecclesiastical with the civil authority, and wielded as it was at that time by the spiritual and temporal rulers of the Church, was a grievous hindrance in the way of her securing the intended benefit; and the difficulties, by which she was afterwards beset, may be traced mainly to the operation of this cause. It is a power, which the natural intolerance of the human mind makes always formidable; and which the despotic spirit of the 16th century invested with its most appalling attributes. It was not essential, however, to the incorporation of the Church with the State, that such an evil should have existed; it was a contingency which arose out of the circumstances of the age; and would, probably, in that period of disturbance, have appeared under one or another form, whatsoever might have been the framework of the body politic. It does not invalidate the real character of the doctrine of regal supremacy in the time of Elizabeth[4].

[4] Bramhall's Answer to La Milletière, Works, i. 31; Gladstone, ut sup. ii. 21. This view of the subject is confirmed in another part of Mr. Gladstone's work, wherein he cites the change made by Elizabeth, from the title of 'head' of the Church to that of 'governor,' as a proof of the mitigated theory of the supremacy in her reign. After quoting the passage in a letter from Jewel to Bullinger, which proves this change, he adds, 'The difference in spirit between these two titles is very great. Both imply a supremacy; but headship is supremacy by virtue of original position in the body; governorship is supremacy by virtue of an acquired position, and power extrinsic to the body. And the great ecclesiastical enactments of this reign, were either reversals of irregular and invalid acts done under Queen Mary, or they were founded upon the preliminary judgment of the Church legitimately assembled.' ii. 164, 165. In the Zurich letters, published by the Parker Society, the letter of Jewel to Bullinger, noticed in the above passage, (and which is there quoted from Collier,) is given at p. 32; and also

Immediately upon her accession, a committee of Divines had been instructed 'to review the Book of Common Prayer and order of Ceremonies and Service in the Church,' which had been adopted in England under Edward VI. The committee laid their report before the council; and, before any final measure was adopted in relation to this important subject, a conference was appointed to be held in Westminster Abbey, between the leading Romanists and Reformers, on the chief points at issue between them. The perverse conduct of the Romanists at this conference prevented any proper discussion; in consequence of which, a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, embodying the alterations proposed by the committee of Divines, was annexed to the Bill of Uniformity, when laid before the houses of Parliament; and, upon that Bill passing into a law, the same Prayer Book became the authorized organ to direct and animate the devotions of the people[5]. The settlement of the 'Articles of Religion,' soon followed this publication of the Prayer Book. They had been drawn up, chiefly, by Cranmer and Ridley, and published in 1552, by the authority of Edward VI., 'for the avoiding diversities of opinions,

The Prayer Book, and the Thirty-nine Articles.

another from Jewel to Peter Martyr, in which he says that he is 'certainly not much displeased,' because 'the queen declines being styled the head of the church,' p. 24. The same collection contains a letter from Parkhurst to Bullinger, in May, 1559; in which he refers to the change made by Elizabeth from the title of 'head' to that of 'governor,' p. 29, but fails to see the distinction between them, which has been so justly pointed out by Mr. Gladstone.

[5] Cardwell's History of Conferences, &c. c. i. ii. It is important to observe that the Prayer Book, thus enacted by Parliament at first, was in later times agreed to by Convocation, and finally adjusted by it in 1661. Gladstone, ut sup. ii. 119.

and stablishing consent touching true religion[6].' They were then forty-two in number. They were again submitted to the consideration of 'the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation, holden at London, in the year 1562;' and agreed upon and published, with some few alterations in their terms as well as in their number, which was reduced to thirty-nine[7]. At a later period of the same reign (1571), they were revised once more; received some further slight alterations; and were 'deliberately read and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Upper house, and by the subscription of the whole Clergy of the Nether-house in their Convocation' which was then holden[8]. Thus solemnly were proclaimed the doctrines of the Christian faith; and thus distinctly was the protest made and recorded against the false glosses which had been thrust upon it by the Church of Rome, or by the members of any other communion.

Rise of the Puritans.

The history of the settlement of these important questions does not reveal the existence of any danger which threatened the peace of our Church. Differences of opinion did indeed quickly arise,—and had arisen, even before the last mentioned revision of the Articles had taken place,—but they were associated, in the first instance, with matters of inferior moment, namely, the refusal to wear certain

[6] Burnet's Reformation, ii. 265.

[7] They were not finally subscribed until January 29, 1563. Burnet's Reformation, iii. 452. The differences between these Articles and those set forward by Edward, are all given by Burnet, in the Records appended to his History, No. 55, iv. 311—317.

[8] See the Ratification at the end of the Articles.

vestments, and to conform to certain practices, required in the celebration of Divine Service. To check these irregularities was the main object of the 'Advertisements,' drawn up and issued in 1564, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Commission[9]. And they who still refused to comply with the injunctions herein addressed to them, received, about the same time, the name of Puritans[10]. It was a hateful and humiliating struggle, which arose out of causes apparently of such little importance; involving gradually interests of supreme authority, and leading to the most fatal consequences. Not now, indeed, for the first time, had this repugnance to wear the prescribed habits been manifested. Fourteen years before, Hooper had refused to be consecrated Bishop, solely upon the same ground: and the letters between him and Cranmer, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, upon the subject, show with what resolution he maintained, and with what earnest affection and careful argument they sought to remove his objections. The unhappy dispute was

[9] Strype's Parker, i. 313—320. See also the argument for and against the lawfulness of the vestments in question, drawn up, as Strype thinks, by the Archbishop himself, and sent by him to Cecil, 'probably for his own satisfaction, and to give him a fair scheme of the contest.' i. 334—343. A list of the varieties which then prevailed in the celebration of Divine Service, (copied from a paper belonging to Cecil, given by Strype, i. 302,) is quoted also by Bishop Madox, in his Vindication of the Government, &c. of the Church of England, against the injurious reflections of Neal's History of the Puritans, pp. 155, 156.

[10] Fuller, in his Church History, assigns the first appearance of the name to the year, 1563; and adds, in his own quaint way, that 'the grief had not been great, if it had ended in the same.' Book ix. p. 76. Archbishop Parker afterwards styled them Precisians. Strype's Parker, ii. 40.

never satisfactorily settled. Hooper consented, indeed, to wear the prescribed habits at his consecration, (which took place the year following, 1551,) and upon certain specified solemn occasions; but, at all other times, he received liberty to dispense with them. The seed, therefore, was not only sown, but the blade had sprung up, and was growing onwards to produce the bitter fruit gathered so abundantly in the age which we are now reviewing. Much of the pertinacious zeal displayed by those who scorned the use of tippet, cap, and surplice, and called them 'conjuring garments of Popery,' may be ascribed to the opinions which they had imbibed, and to the practices which they had seen observed, among the Reformers of Frankfort, Strasburgh, Zurich, and Geneva, to whose arms they had been compelled to fly for refuge, whilst the Marian persecution raged in England[11]. The intimacies formed, and the services rendered at that time, strengthened those bonds of sympathy between the members of our Church and the Protestant congregations of the Continent, which had been first created in the reign of Henry, by a sense of the common cause in which they were engaged against Rome; and which were increased, in the reign of Edward, by the assistance which Cranmer sought and received at the hands of Martyr and Bucer, and others of their leading Divines. And when to this circumstance is added the history of the melancholy dissensions touching the English Ritual, which broke out at Frankfort, during the residence of the exiles in that city, and which were aggravated by the agitation of Knox, and the decision of Calvin, it can scarcely be a matter of

[11] Burnet's Reformation, ii. 242—264; Strype's Parker, i. 301.

astonishment,—however deeply it must excite our regret,—that the return to their native land of men who had been exposed to such influences, should have brought with it disaffection and prejudice in its train [12].

Archbishop Parker.

The prelate, who then occupied the see of Canterbury, was Matthew Parker. The late Archbishop, Cardinal Pole, had died on the day following that which witnessed the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne; and, a few months afterwards, Parker,—who was then in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and, in the language of Strype, 'a poor, obscure, absconding, persecuted clergyman,'—was 'advanced to the very top of ecclesiastical honour and trust in the English Church; though altogether without his seeking, and with much reluctancy.' It was solely because he was believed to possess the piety, wisdom, and sobriety, required for the duties of this high office, that he was recommended to Elizabeth by Secretary Cecil and the Lord Keeper (Nicholas) Bacon, as the fittest man to be preferred to it. They had been the companions and friends of Parker for many years; and, doubtless, their regard for him was shared by the Queen, who remembered that he had been the chaplain and adviser of her mother, and a guide and instructor to herself in her days of childhood. After many delays, arising from his own unfeigned desire to decline the burden of responsibility about to be laid upon him, Parker was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, December 17, 1559 [13].

[12] Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 233; Keble's Preface to Hooker, p. lx.; Cardwell's Introduction to his History of Conferences, &c. 9—17; Le Bas's Life of Jewel, 48, 49; Burnet's Reformation, ii. 527—529.

[13] Strype's Parker, i. 14. 69—125; Burnet's Reformation, ii.

His conduct towards the Roman Catholics,

The prudence and forbearance which he displayed, in discharging the duties of his office, amply justify his appointment. His advice to the Bishops, with respect to their administration of the oath and exaction of the penalties, required by the Act of Supremacy, and his letter to Cecil upon the subject, show how careful he was not needlessly to wound the conscience, or endanger the life, of any man. The severity of the Act, says his biographer, created in his mind 'some pensive thoughts;' and he wrote to his brethren privately, warning them 'not to tender the oath a second time to any (as they might be provoked probably by the Papists' obstinacy sometimes to do) before they had sent to him, giving him notice thereof, and had received his letter in answer thereunto.' The effect of this wise and equitable conduct was to restrain, at that critical juncture, the outbreak of many fierce and contending passions; and a happy destiny would it have been for the Church over which he presided, if the same spirit had governed her councils in after years [14].

And towards the Puritans.

The conduct of Parker towards the Puritans has been reproached, but not always with justice, by their historians for its undue severity. It is true, indeed, that he did not flee with the other English exiles, of whom we have spoken, to the Continent, during the reign of Mary; but chose rather to shelter himself from the storm of persecution, in such an asylum as he could find in his native

587; Bramhall's Works, iii. 21—112; Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 160, *note*.

[14] Strype's Parker, i. 247—250.

land. And so far, it may be said that he was not ready to sympathize with all the scruples, which his brethren urged upon their return. But if, from that very cause, he had the opportunity of surveying, more calmly and leisurely, the grounds of offence, and seeing their real insignificance; if the knowledge, which he had acquired by his continuance in England, of the feelings and wishes of the majority of the English people, convinced him that more persons would be offended than conciliated by the concession of the points in dispute; and if, lastly, he was led to believe, not only from the character of the complaints themselves, but also from the spirit in which they were urged, that impatience of all controul, and a presumptuous arbitrary self-will, were the real influences by which many of the objectors were swayed, he cannot justly be blamed if he resisted them. He did not, however, betray any eager and impatient desire to detect, or repress, the irregularities and disorders of which he disapproved. On the contrary, the first four or five years of his Primacy passed away without any steps being taken to restrain the evil. He hoped, probably, that time might mitigate, if not remove, its influence; and that the examples of such honoured men as Grindal, Sandys, Horn, and Jewel, —who had themselves once hesitated as to the lawfulness of certain vestments and practices, but afterwards felt it their duty to conform[15],—might have led others

[15] 'They consulted together,' says Strype, 'what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter into their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry, for some rites, that, as they considered, were but a few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the Gospel remained pure and entire. And in this counsel, which they had at first taken, they continued

to follow the same course. But his hope was not fulfilled. The irregularities became greater by connivance; and not only was the internal harmony of the Church thereby endangered, but the way was made more easy for the assault which Rome was already preparing to make upon her from without. A letter was accordingly addressed, in January, 1564, from the Queen to Parker, 'requiring him to confer with the Bishops of his province, and others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for the redressing disorders in the Church, occasioned by different doctrines and rites; and for the taking order to admit none into preferment, but those that are conformable [16];' and the 'Advertisements,' to which reference has been already made, were issued in consequence. The penal enactments of suspension and sequestration, set forth in this document, against those who refused to comply with its injunctions, were only, after many delays, and with very great reluctance, enforced. The forbearance, which Parker had displayed towards the Roman

still well satisfied; and also upon the considerations that by filling these rooms in the Church they might keep out Lutherans, and such as were suspected papists; which was an argument the learned foreigners, their friends, suggested to them.' Annals of the Reformation, &c. i. 264. There is a remarkable letter written by Bishop Horn (of Winchester) to Bullinger, in 1571, in which he contrasts his old repugnance to wear the habits with the paramount authority of the duties to which he had been summoned:—'We are not so much concerned (he says) about the fitness of our apparel (*panno*), as about rightly dividing the bread (*pane*) of the Lord; nor, in fine, do we deem it of so much consequence, if our own coat appears unbefitting, as it is to take care that the seamless coat of our Lord be not rent asunder.' Zurich Letters, 248.

[16] Strype's Parker, App. No. xxiv. iii. 65—69. This letter, and the Archbishop's answer, Ib. No. xxvi. iii. 73—76, are most worthy of the reader's attention.

Catholics, he was not less ready to show towards the Puritans; and his main coadjutor, Grindal, Bishop of London, whose signature, with that of many other Bishops, was attached to the 'Advertisements,' could certainly not be charged with any desire to hasten severe measures. On the contrary, it is notorious that the personal sympathy of Grindal towards most of the parties against whom they were directed, led him to the extreme verge of concession. The two most strenuous opponents with whom Parker and his brother prelates had to deal, were Sampson, Dean of Chichester, and Humphrey, President of Magdalen College and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. Every argument which reason could suggest, and every entreaty which affection could urge, were brought to bear upon them; the assistance also of some of those foreign divines in whom the Puritans placed so much confidence, was called in; but all in vain. Grindal, in the words of Strype, 'prayed Sampson even with tears, that he would but now and then, in the public meetings of the University, put on the square cap, but could not prevail with him to do so[17].'

It seems well-nigh incredible, that matters of such a nature, if they had really been the only causes of offence, should have produced such unhappy divisions. The character of Humphrey and of Sampson forbids us to believe that they were influenced by any other principles than those which they professed; and it is only left for us therefore to wonder at, and lament, the distressing scenes which followed their pertinacity. By their followers, however, it will be seen that

[17] Strype's Grindal, 154—157; Parker, i. 368; Zurich Letters, 345, &c. and 151—165; Collier's Eccles. Hist. vi. 417—419.

objections were even then ready to be advanced, and alterations insisted upon, which went to the utter subversion of all which the Church holds dear; and to have yielded to such demands, would have been to surrender, for the sake of peace, the only grounds upon which any true peace can be maintained.

Creed of Pius IV.

Before the reader's attention can be carried onward to contemplate this new phase in the Puritanic controversy, it is arrested by the movements of the Church and Court of Rome. The twelve new Articles, added to the Creed at the Council of Trent, and obtruded, by the Bull of Pope Pius IV., upon all Christendom, to be received under pain of damnation, made it impossible, as long as they were attempted to be enforced, that bonds of communion should be renewed between Rome and any of the Reformed Churches. But this was not all. The declaration of unrighteous dogmas was quickly followed by the fresh assault which his successor, Pius V., made upon the liberties and peace of England. He had already issued, in 1566, one Bull for the confounding of heretics; and this was succeeded by another, which was privately introduced into this country, in 1569, and, in the course of the next year, found publicly fixed upon the gate of the Bishop of London's palace. The avowed purpose of this instrument was to take away from Elizabeth all right and title to the crown; to absolve her subjects from their oath of allegiance; and to denounce the heaviest curses of excommunication upon all who should dare to obey her word. The dreadful consequences which must have followed the execution of this decree, had the wishes of its author been accomplished, were only to be equalled by the

Bull of Pius V.

blasphemous perversion of Scripture, which it was attempted to plead as the authority for its promulgation [18].

The miseries, indeed, which it had been intended to produce, were, by God's blessing, averted; and the loyalty of the English people remained unbroken. But the very effort made to destroy it was the scattering of a deadly seed which produced fruit after its own kind. The sin of schism was thereby formally committed [19]; and the breach made wider between the Church of Rome and our own, which,—until the arrogant assumption which created it is withdrawn,—must remain irreparable. Even then, the noxious character of this sin was shown, by the spirit of antagonism which it evoked on the part of those ministers of our Church who protested against its inroad; a spirit so fierce as to outrage, on some occasions, the very truth which it was so zealous to defend [20].

Proceedings of the English Parliament against Romish Recusants.

A like result was manifested in the measures which were rendered necessary to oppose the claims of civil supremacy, put forth in this same document. The pains and penalties of prohibitory and condemning statutes were speedily agreed to; and when, in the language of the Queen's Secretary Walsingham, 'seminaries began to blossom, and to send forth daily priests, and professed men, who should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her subjects from their obedience,'—when men 'were no more papists in conscience, but papists

[18] Le Bas's Life of Jewel, 174—183; Cardwell's Documentary Annals, &c. i. 328—331; Collier's Eccles. Hist. vi. 471—474.

[19] Gladstone, ut sup. ii. 167.

[20] Haweis's Sketches of the Reformation, &c.

in faction[21],'—these penalties were enforced. The magnitude and urgency of the danger, indeed, called for an effective vindication of the State from the aggression which threatened its existence; but, as the reader examines the sad catalogue of proceedings instituted against Romish Recusants, he is constrained to confess that the limits prescribed by that necessity were far exceeded; and that many of the means to which the ministers of Elizabeth resorted, in order to repress the danger which they dreaded, were such as no law could justify, no argument of political expediency excuse.

In making this admission, I am not unmindful of the fact, that the alarm and indignation,—excited in the minds of the spiritual and temporal rulers of our country in that day, by the denunciations of Papal tyranny,—were aggravated by the remembrance of the persecutions which had been witnessed in England, during the reign of Mary; and by the knowledge of those which soon afterwards took place in other parts of Europe. The oppression, for instance, which Roman Catholic Spain inflicted upon the Low Countries, through the agency of Alva; and the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, which made the capital of Roman Catholic France flow with the blood of the Huguenots; were events which Gregory XIII. hesitated not to celebrate by a bull of jubilee[22]. What apprehensions then of Rome, it might be asked, could be deemed extravagant, or what resistance against her be condemned as needless, when tidings such as these came home to

[21] Burnet's Reformation, ii. 649; Collier's Eccles. Hist. vii. 76—79.

[22] Strype's Parker, iii. App. No. lxviii.

the hearts of Englishmen? And, if to these be added the recollection of the overbearing conduct, exhibited by many of the Roman Catholics at home; and the prevalent belief, that such conduct was to be ascribed to the hopes which they centred in Mary, Queen of Scots, a member of their Church, and the next in succession to the English throne: or if, last of all, there be taken into account the uncompromising hostility of Spain, which was manifested in the equipment of her proud Armada, and encouraged by the direct authority of the Pope himself; it is impossible to say that there was not an imperious necessity for the adoption of retributive and defensive measures on the part of Elizabeth's counsellors. It must be borne also in mind, that, whatsoever were the severities which they thought it needful to exercise towards Romish Recusants, those severities were eagerly applauded by the Puritans, who were then acquiring as strong an influence in the House of Commons, as they already possessed in the Cabinet of the Sovereign. The hatred which they entertained of every thing belonging to Rome, gave a sharper sting to the laws which were passed, and a louder and more indignant tone to the voice which was lifted up, against the members of her communion [23].

Nevertheless, after making every abatement which considerations such as these suggest, it is impossible to look back upon some of the scenes which were then enacted,—the torture, for instance, inflicted upon Campian the Jesuit, and others, who afterwards suf-

[23] Bramhall's Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Works, ii. 112—119; Keble's Preface to Hooker, lvii.; Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 191.

fered execution with him,—and not blush for very shame that such cruelty could have been ordained by English law. Who, again, can regard the statutes which were passed against Roman Catholics, from the 13th to the 29th years of Elizabeth [24],—statutes which compelled, under penalties of fine and imprisonment, their attendance at the public service of our Church, and prohibited them the exercise of their own worship, even in the most private and concealed manner, —and not confess that such conduct was repugnant to all truth and justice? To repay in this manner evil for evil, was assuredly only to give strength to the adversary, to encourage the hypocrite, to confirm the obstinate, and to create a sympathy in favour of the very men whose opinions and practices it was intended to condemn.

The progress of Puritanism.

Meanwhile, the power of Puritanism increased. The opposition, which had been confined, in the first instance, to the use of certain vestments and ceremonies, now took a wider range. The Catholic and Apostolic government of the Church was openly impugned, and its authority wholly

[24] For a summary of them, see Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 186—197. 222; and Professor Smythe's tenth Lecture on Modern History, i. 272. There is, however, a most important distinction to be made between the persecution of Roman Catholics under Elizabeth, and that sustained by the members of our Church under Mary, which Hallam has pointed out, and which the reader should bear in mind: namely, that there was no Roman Catholic executed under Elizabeth, 'who might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen;' whereas the Marian persecution sprang, as he says, 'from mere bigotry and vindictive rancour, not even shielding itself at the time with those shallow pretexts of policy, which it has of late been attempted to set up in its extenuation,' i. 223.

denied. The Liturgy was represented as full of 'intolerable abuses;' the observance of times and seasons denounced as superstitious; and, against the mode of celebrating the two Holy Sacraments, or any other of those blessed ordinances which, from the cradle to the grave, wait upon the baptized members of the Church of Christ, the unwearied objector had still some reproach to bring. The Church was, in fact, to be overthrown; and the Presbyterian platform of Geneva set up in its place.

'Admonition to the Parliament'

The form, in which the assailants who aimed at this object first exhibited their views, was a pamphlet, which appeared after the prorogation of both houses, in 1572, entitled an 'Admonition to the Parliament.' The language of this document is that of the most arrogant confidence, and the coarsest and most bitter vituperation. Its ostensible authors were two clergymen, Field and Wilcox, who were imprisoned on account of the publication of this document,—the government regarding it as a seditious libel,—but were afterwards released upon their own petition. It was not, however, by such means that the voice of the Puritans could be silenced.

Their leading champion, and one who was supposed to have been the chief author of the obnoxious Admonition, was Thomas Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and also the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in that University[25]. From both these offices he was ejected, in consequence of his avowed opposition to the authority of the Church and of the University; and when, at the desire of

[25] Strype's Life of Parker, ii. 110; and of Whitgift, i. 55.

Archbishop Parker, Whitgift, then Master of Trinity College, published an 'Answer to the Admonition,' Cartwright stood forward to reply to him. This reply drew forth from Whitgift, a 'Defence of the Answer to the Admonition;' a work, in which he is admitted, except by the extreme partisans on the other side, to have established triumphantly the points which he had undertaken to defend; and to which Cartwright was so tardy in publishing a rejoinder, that, by some historians it has been asserted, that Whitgift remained undisputed master of the field of controversy [26].

The first English Presbytery, at Wandsworth.

But the controversy had not ceased. The first English Presbytery, secretly established at Wandsworth, in 1572, was a nucleus around which fresh elements of strife were soon gathered. The Conferences, which the members of the party held among themselves, and their 'Prophesyings,'—a name given to their religious exercises,—increased on all sides. Their complaints became more importunate; their remonstrances more bold; and the Anabaptists of Germany and of Holland made league with them [27]. Then also were inflicted upon holders of false doctrine the atrocious cruelties of the rack, the gibbet, and the stake; and the writ '*de hæretico comburendo*,' was, after an interval of seventeen years, revived, to the indelible disgrace of England.

Archbishop Grindal.

At this crisis (1575), Archbishop Parker died; and was succeeded by Grindal, of whose mild and gentle spirit I have already spoken.

[26] Soames's Elizabethan Religious History, pp. 175, 176.
[27] Collier's Eccles. Hist. vi. 331, 332.

He refrained from executing the severe counsels which Elizabeth, in her apprehension of the Puritanic prophesyings, attempted to force upon him. He was anxious, indeed, to repress all irregularities which had arisen out of those exercises, and prescribed rules for their controul[28]. And, when Elizabeth disapproved of his rules, as not likely to secure the object intended, and urged the Archbishop to carry into effect the more stringent measures which she laid before him, he addressed to her a remonstrance, in what Strype truly calls 'an excellent and memorable letter;' setting forth, in the first place, the expression of his own grief for her speeches to him upon the subject, 'not so much, because they sounded hardly against his own person, who was, he said, but a particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all, because they tended to the public harm of God's Church, whereof she ought by her office to be the nurse, and also to the heavy burdening of her own conscience before God, if what she demanded should be put in strict execution.' He then expostulated with her upon the scarcity of preachers of God's Word throughout the kingdom; upon the authority of the ordinance of preaching, as 'the ordinary means and instrument for the reconciliation of men unto God;' and represented the necessity of extending the proper ministration of it[29]. He next proceeded to show the benefit which had

[28] Strype's Life of Grindal, 327.

[29] It is worthy of remark, that Lord Bacon expresses, most unequivocally, his agreement on this subject with Archbishop Grindal, whom he calls 'one of the greatest and rarest prelates of this land.' See his Treatise entitled 'Certain considerations touching the better pacification and edification of the Church of England.' Works, vii. 86, 87. Strype, whose careful eye nothing seems to escape, has

already been conferred upon the Church, and which, if they were duly controuled, might be permanently secured to it, by the labours of some of those ministers whom the Queen was so forward to condemn. Lastly, he acknowledged, 'that he could not with a safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give his assent to the suppressing of the said exercises, much less send out any injunctions for the utter and universal subversion of the same. That, if it were her Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove him out of that place, he would with all humility yield thereunto, and render again that which he had received of her. That he considered with himself, that it was a horrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God; and prayed her to bear with him, though he chose rather to offend her Majesty than to offend the Heavenly[30].'

His hard treatment.

The remonstrance thus made was utterly disregarded. The Bishops were called upon at once to put down the 'Prophesyings;' and against the Archbishop himself a decree of the Star Chamber went forth, sentencing him to sequestration, and confinement to his house for six months. This gross outrage, for which no satisfactory reparation was ever made, occurred in 1577; and although, during those six months of personal restraint, the functions of his

noticed this approval of Lord Bacon, in his description of the Archbishop, 445. The whole passage,—especially that part of it in which he vindicates Grindal's character from the charges brought against him by Fuller and Heylyn, 447—457, will amply repay a careful perusal. It is an admirable specimen of the scrupulous honesty and impartiality of this most patient chronicler.

[30] Strype's Grindal, 329—332. Also Appendix, book ii. No. ix. 558—574.

office were sometimes exercised by commission from the Queen, yet he appears not to have been restored to the full exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction until 1582, when the sequestration was removed. At the close of that year, a blindness, which had been for some time growing upon him, and which he had hoped might admit of remedy, became incurable, and he entreated permission to resign the duties of the See; —a permission, which before he had sought in vain, but which was now granted to him. No steps, however, were openly taken towards the appointment of his successor, until the following year, when death removed Grindal from the cares which, in his life, he had desired to commit to other hands; and, in the language of his biographer, 'the holy Archbishop,— spent with cares and labours for the good of his Church, after a very exemplary and useful life, surrendered his soul to God[31].'

The Brownists.

The Puritans were, at this time, about to receive a portion of the same measure which they had meted out to others. Rigid and intolerant in the enforcement of their own claims, and ready to provoke the worst evils of division, rather than surrender one jot or tittle of their demands, they found themselves outstripped by others, who soon clamoured in their turn for a reformation yet more complete than that insisted upon by the Presbyterian discipline, and became as hostile to its supporters as they were to the Church herself. These were the men, whose followers, in the next century, when their opinions were in some degree modified, were known

[31] Strype's Grindal, 342—403. 429; and Paul's Life of Whitgift, quoted by Strype, i. 222.

by the name of Independents; but, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., they were called Brownists or Barrowists, from the names of their two leaders. Browne, a relation of Lord Burghley, was domestic chaplain of the Duke of Norfolk, when he first drew down upon himself the condemning ordinances enforced against the Puritans, during Parker's Primacy; and was compelled to flee to Holland to avoid them. He is described by Neal, the historian of the Puritans, as 'a fiery, hot-headed young man, who went about the country, inveighing against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church, and exhorting the people by no means to comply with them.' His absence from England was not of long duration; for we are told, upon the same authority, that, although he settled at Middleburgh, in Zealand, and formed a church according to his own model, it soon crumbled away by the internal divisions of its members; and Browne himself came back to England, a reckless and disappointed man. He returned professedly to the communion of the Church, from which he had separated himself; but it was only to cast upon it the additional reproach of a long life wasted in dissolute and idle habits.

The doctrines, however, which he had preached in his earlier days, did not die with him. His followers survived, as we have said, to establish a power before which, in the next century, Presbyterianism itself quailed in England; and which, in some of the Colonies of the British Empire, established a despotism as intolerant as any which the world ever saw. The Barrowists, who were the same party under another name, were so called from Henry Barrow, a layman, who may be regarded as their second founder; and

who, in 1593, was unrighteously executed, with Greenwood his associate [32].

Archbishop Whitgift.

The severities, of which Barrow's execution was an instance, and which, in various order and degree, were put in force against the separatists in Elizabeth's reign, form the heaviest ground of accusation against the character of Grindal's successor in the Primacy, Archbishop Whitgift. Were we to determine the truth of these charges only by the representations of those who have urged them, it would plainly be impossible to return any other verdict than such as would lead to the heaviest condemnation of Whitgift. But it is not from the scurrilous abuse heaped upon him in the libels of Martin Mar-Prelate, nor the unjust and uncharitable insinuations contained in the pages of Neal's History [33], that a true estimate can be derived of one, whose lot was cast in such troublesome times.

From boyhood to his dying hour, Whitgift was never exempt from the trials of controversy. Cambridge, the scene of his laborious and successful studies,

[32] Neal's History of the Puritans, i. 246—248. 423; Soames's Elizabethan Religious History, 416. 421.

[33] The very first mention which Neal makes of the Archbishop's name is an example of this unfair spirit; where, after having noticed the fact, that Whitgift, in 1565, had joined with some other authorities at Cambridge, in requesting their Chancellor Cecil to intercede with the Queen for a dispensation respecting vestments, on behalf of those members of the University, who scrupled to wear them, he adds, in the next page, that, 'Whitgift, seeing which way the tide of preferment ran, drew his pen in defence of the hierarchy in all its branches, and became a most potent advocate for the habits.' Neal, i. 147, 148. Had such an imputation of evil motives been made by any writer on the other side, who would have been more eager than Neal to expose its injustice?

was the scene also in which each strong affection of his young nature,—whether of resentment against the oppressor, or of sympathy with the oppressed,—was brought into quick and active exercise. It was there that he became a pupil of 'Bradford, that holy man and martyr;' and there that he first learned to know and to love the sainted Grindal. It was there, also, when Grindal and others were compelled to flee, that he remained a witness of those cruelties and indignities of Popish persecution,—which, however abhorrent from the character of mildness and equity generally ascribed by historians to Cardinal Pole,—were, notwithstanding, perpetrated by his authority; and from the destroying power of which, Whitgift was only saved by the secret connivance of the Master of his College, who was then Vice-Chancellor. He thus was led to examine, with more than common anxiety, the grounds of alleged supremacy claimed by the Church of Rome; and, examining them, he prized more thankfully, and defended more resolutely, the barriers which had been raised up against it in his native land. He saw, too, on the other hand, the sin which would be committed, and the evil which would arise, if Catholic verities were to be disowned, and Apostolic ordinances abandoned, only because they had been associated with Rome; and, when the influence of the continental divines threatened, as we have seen, to destroy the integrity of some of these within the English Church, he was prompt and strenuous in his efforts to counteract it. Like Parker, having never fled for refuge to the continent, he may be said to have lacked that sympathy with the Helvetian Reformers, which his countrymen, who had shared their protection, and were daily brought within the influence of their teach-

ing, so deeply felt. But then, like Parker, he was enabled, from that very cause, to arrive at a more unbiassed judgment touching the matters in dispute. His residence at the University gave to him every possible aid in reaching that result; and he eagerly availed himself of it. His appointment, first, to the Lady Margaret's, and afterwards to the Regius Professorship of Divinity; and his elevation to the Mastership of Trinity College,—from that of Pembroke Hall to which he had been before preferred,—supplied testimony, not to be mistaken, of the high reputation, which, at that early period of his life, he had acquired; and that such a man should be foremost to repel any assault made upon the rights of the University or Church, was only to confirm the expectations which all men entertained respecting him. He could not have remained silent, if he would; for Cartwright, who has been already mentioned, as the ablest and boldest champion of the Puritans, was a Fellow of the College of which Whitgift was Master. Throughout the whole controversy with him, Whitgift seems to have been guided solely by the love of that truth which he sought to vindicate. He was ever ready to argue with his opponent, either by conference or writing; and, when he was compelled to become a party to measures which affected the fortunes and person of his antagonist, it was not the gratification of vindictive feelings, but the impartial discharge of a solemn trust, of which he was the appointed guardian. Thus, the restrictions, which he and the other authorities of the University imposed on Cartwright, as the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, not to continue the duties of that office, was only, as his biographer states, because 'both by his

His character as a controversialist.

readings and conversation, Cartwright had infected the minds of the scholars of the younger sort, with mighty prejudices against the episcopal government and Liturgy established in the reformation of this Church.' In like manner, when he soon afterwards declared Cartwright to be no longer Fellow of Trinity College, it was 'because, contrary both to the express words of his oath and plain statute of that college,' he had not been, and did not intend to be, admitted to the order of Priesthood. It is stated, indeed, by Neal, that this was a forced interpretation of the statute; and he describes Cartwright's deprivation of his Fellowship, as a 'mean and pitiful triumph' on the part of Whitgift. But this is only to take for granted the very point which demands proof, and then to ground an accusation upon it:—a mode of proceeding, which certainly cannot of itself prove that Cartwright was clear from the charge of perjury; or that Whitgift was guilty for discharging an express and positive, however painful, duty[34].

I have already adverted to the 'Admonition to the Parliament,' put forth by the Puritans, in 1572; to the work which Whitgift, at Parker's request, wrote in answer to it; to Cartwright's defence of the 'Admonition;' and to Whitgift's rejoinder. And, although it is impossible, within the limits of the present chapter, to lay before the reader any detailed view of the arguments advanced, on either side, in this memorable controversy, yet it may serve as a clue to the feelings which were at work in Whitgift's mind,—and as a vindication, in some sort, of the severe measures to

[34] Strype's Whitgift, i. 8—10. 15—96; Strype's Annals of the Reformation, iii. 1, 2, and 57; Neal's History, i. 194.

which he afterwards resorted,—to observe that he believed the authors of the 'Admonition' were propagating opinions, which, if received and acted upon, would lead to the destruction of all peace, and truth, and order. He showed the grounds of this belief, by a reference to the teaching and practice of the Donatists in old time, and of the Anabaptists of Germany in his own day; and argued that the 'Admonishioners[35],' who were so closely walking in the steps of both, were fast bringing ruin upon England. That there was ample ground to justify these apprehensions, there can be no doubt. And, if the passages extracted from the 'Admonition' by Hallam, constrain that calm and impartial historian to declare, that its authors claimed 'an ecclesiastical independence, as unconstrained as the Romish priesthood in the darkest ages had usurped;' if they recall to his mind 'those tones of infatuated arrogance, which had been heard from the lips of Gregory VII., and of those who trod in his footsteps;' who can wonder that one, like Whitgift,—who was not gazing at the field of battle from a distance, but himself struggling amid its hottest tumult,—should have proclaimed, in impassioned terms, the oppressive rigour of the adversary?

Hallam, speaking of Whitgift's elevation to the Primacy, remarks, that 'it is seldom good policy to confer such eminent stations in the Church, on the gladiators of theological controversy; who, from vanity and resentment, as well as the course of their studies, will always be prone to exaggerate the importance of the disputes wherein they have been engaged, and to

[35] Strype's Whitgift, i. 54—76. Bramhall pursues the same line of argument, in his Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Works, ii. 203.

turn whatever authority the laws, or the influence of their place, may give them against their adversaries[36].' This remark is, in its general substance, undoubtedly true. But the application of it to the case of Whitgift, should be qualified by remembering the fact, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of the disputes which occupied his time and thoughts; and that there is much ground to doubt whether, in any instance, the charges of vanity and resentment can be established against him.

Proceedings against the Puritans.

That Whitgift turned much of the authority which the laws and his own exalted position gave him against his adversaries, there is no doubt; that he did this, in spite of the remonstrance which the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors, in some instances, addressed to him, must also further be admitted; and so far the justice of Hallam's observation respecting him is verified, and the ground of our own regret is, openly and unreservedly, confessed. But even here, it should be remembered that the authority which he exerted, was recognized by the laws of the land; and the practice of the times in which he lived had made it familiar to his mind. Upon them, and also upon the impetuous and domineering character of the Queen, and not upon the Archbishop, ought the chief blame to rest. With respect to the interrogatories, indeed, which were issued by him, in 1584, the year after he became Primate, to the clergy who were suspected of a Puritanical bias, and which they were required to answer upon oath, it must be freely admitted that they were open to many of the objections which Cecil urged against them; being as

[36] Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 253, 254. 269.

he said, 'so curiously penned, so ful of branches and circumstances, as the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and trap their preyes;' —a 'kind of proceeding too much savouring of the Romish inquisition: and rather a device to seek for offenders, than to reform any[37].' Nevertheless, the reasons, which Whitgift alleged in defence of the measure,—although, as far as we can judge of them at the distance of time which now separates us from the scenes which suggested them to his mind, we regret that he should have adhered to all of them,—were such as appeared to him of paramount authority. Another circumstance, also, which has been often lost sight of, should be remarked, namely, that a short time afterwards, he modified considerably the terms of subscription, by the advice of Secretary Walsingham. Moreover, with respect to Cecil, it can scarcely be supposed that the feelings of displeasure which he entertained towards Whitgift, were such as Hallam's strong description of them might lead us to suppose; since, in 1585,—during Leicester's absence in the Low Countries,—the Archbishop was sworn of the Queen's Privy Council; and we are distinctly told that 'this was brought to pass chiefly by the Lord Treasurer[38].'

The Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission.

The formidable instruments of power which existed in that day, and were wielded with such fatal determination, were the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission. The former of these possessed unlimited

[37] Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, Book iii. No. ix.
[38] Ib. i. 431. 471.

jurisdiction over all such offences as were not punishable by common law; and its power was vested in the privy councillors and judges, save when the sovereign was present, who was then sole judge. It was first established at an ancient period of our history; but, in the reign of Henry VII., it had been new-modelled, and armed with fresh powers over the person and property of the subject, for the purpose of swelling the treasures of that avaricious monarch; and, again, in the present reign, the extent of its legal jurisdiction was increased, and its usurped authority became still greater [39].

The Court of High Commission cannot be more correctly described than in the words of Blackstone, who states, that 'it was erected and united to the regal power by virtue of the statute, Eliz. c. 1, (namely, the Act of Supremacy,) instead of a larger jurisdiction which had before been exercised under the pope's authority. It was intended to vindicate the dignity and peace of the Church, by reforming, ordering, and correcting the ecclesiastical state and persons, and all manner of heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, under the shelter of which general words, means were found, in that and the two succeeding reigns, to vest in the high commissioners extraordinary and almost despotic powers, of fining and imprisoning; which they exerted much beyond the degrees of the offence itself, and frequently over offences by no means of spiritual cognizance [40].

[39] Blackstone's Commentaries, iv. 502. 506.

[40] Ib. iii. 77; Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 271; Burnet's Reformation, ii. 599; Collier's Eccles. Hist. vi. 224, and vii. 154—159, with the notes subjoined.

The exercise of their powers fatal to the peace of the Church.

It is difficult to understand by what powers of reasoning Heylyn, the historian, could have brought himself to believe that a Court so constituted was the 'principal bulwark and preservation of the Church of England against all her adversaries, whether Popish or Puritan [41].' Far more truly may it be described as her heaviest encumbrance and reproach. It lasted for the greater portion of a century; during which period, how many were the acts committed under its authority, at the recital of which the ears now tingle, and the cheeks blush for very shame! Lord Clarendon, indeed, might say,—and no doubt with perfect sincerity,—that, whilst the jurisdiction of the Court of High Commission 'was exercised with moderation, it was an excellent means to vindicate and preserve the dignity and peace of the Church;' yet, how could weak and fallible man, exposed to the provocation of enemies from without, and to the force of his own passions from within, be expected always to exercise with moderation a power so absolute and unrestrained? It were vain to suppose it possible. The reader has only to refer to the description which Clarendon himself gives, of the evils which resulted from the working of this Court, and which had come to their height in the 16th year of Charles the First's reign,—the year which witnessed its abolition,—and to compare it with the accounts given by him of the enlarged jurisdiction of the Star Chamber, in the 5th year of the same reign, and he will see with what fatal consequences to the peace both of the Church and of the State, the authority of these Courts was exercised [42].

[41] Heylyn's History of the Reformation, 282.

[42] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, i. 121, 122. 496—498.

It may be regarded, therefore, as a real calamity, which befell Whitgift and his successors, that they should ever have been called upon to direct any part of a machinery, in its own nature so terrible. The knowledge that he could at any time put it in operation, was, of itself, likely to betray him into a forgetfulness of the salutary caution, addressed to him by Hooker in the Preface to his Fifth Book, 'that, if any marvel how a thing in itself so weak [as the subject-matter of the early controversies with the Puritans] could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire.' The prudence, forbearance, and patience, which every moment are brought into exercise, as long as reason is the only weapon which men employ against the adversary, are in danger of being thrust aside, when power waits upon the call of the provoked party. And when was provocation greater, or power more instant and irresponsible, than in the days of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court? It is a consolation, however, to know, that, although the jurisdiction of the latter Court almost reached its zenith in the earliest years of Whitgift's Primacy, there are many recorded evidences,—and how many more may we not reasonably suppose there may have been, which historians have failed to notice?—which show that neither his judgment nor his affections were warped by fami-

The only matter of astonishment is, that a writer who has so faithfully described the evils in question, and who admits that the abolition of the Star Chamber (which took place in 1641, the same year which witnessed the abolition of the High Commission Court,) was a politic as well as a popular measure, should have ever thought that the reviving it hereafter could be politic. Ib. 500.

liarity with the exercise of its powers. Thus, we find him interceding with the Queen successfully for the life of John Udal, a Puritan Minister, who had been condemned to death. And, when his old opponent, Cartwright, returned from abroad, in 1585, and showed a disposition not to renew the work of disturbance, Whitgift forthwith received him with that degree of kindness and courtesy, which drew forth from Leicester, the patron of Cartwright, the warmest expressions of acknowledgment. Again, in 1591, when Cartwright had provoked further proceedings to be instituted against him, on the part of Aylmer, Bishop of London,—for whose rigorous acts we can offer no defence,—and was brought with others before the High Commission Court; not only did Whitgift absent himself 'on purpose,' as his biographer states, 'for avoiding any uncharitable surmises of him,' but, further, used every exertion to procure the liberation of Cartwright and his associates from prison. And, upon the retirement of Cartwright to a hospital at Warwick, Whitgift continued the same offices of good-will towards him, which Cartwright acknowledged proceeded from his grace's 'frank disposition, without any desert of his own[43].'

Whitgift's conduct to Cartwright.

Thus did the last few years of the lives of these two combatants close in peace towards each other; a peace, founded upon no false and hollow grounds. With respect to Cartwright, indeed, we possess evidence which cannot be doubted, that he looked back with sorrow and regret to the hostile career which he

[43] Strype's Whitgift, i. 428. ii. 38—40. 74. 102; Hallam's Constit. Hist. i. 279; Collier's Eccles. Hist. vii. 173; Paule's Life of Whitgift, in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, iii. 591.

had followed; for it is recorded of him by Sir Henry Yelverton, as part of his last words, 'that he seriously lamented the unnecessary troubles he had caused in the Church by the schism he had been the great fomenter of: and wished he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways:'—and that 'in this opinion he died[44].' And of Whitgift, may we not say, that, as he looked back upon the former scenes of fierce and heady strife, and compared them with the charity with which he and his antagonist looked upon each other in the evening of their lives, the contrast must have been acknowledged as a cause of special thanksgiving from him unto his God, and of most earnest prayer for the pardon of his own hard thoughts and words? We may truly believe that he shared those deep searchings of heart, which, in a later generation, have been so touchingly expressed by one who was second to none of the masters of our Israel, for the boldness and zeal wherewith he vindicated the truth from reproach. Speaking of the time when his opponent and he 'shall both be gone to those unseen abodes, where the din of controversy and the din of war are equally unheard,' he adds, 'There shall we rest together till the last trumpet summon us to stand before our God and King. That whatever of intemperate wrath and carnal anger hath mixed itself, on either side, with the zeal with which we have pursued our fierce contention, may then be forgiven to us both, is a prayer which I breathe from the bottom of my soul; and to which my

[44] Strype's Whitgift, ii. 460; Walton's Life of Hooker, 60. Cartwright's death took place at the end of 1603, and Whitgift's at the beginning of the next year.

antagonist, if he hath any part in the spirit of a Christian, upon his bended knees will say, Amen[45].'

Whitaker.

Among the fellow-labourers of Whitgift, we may notice Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. He bore a conspicuous part in the Romish controversy, and was known not only by a Latin translation of Jewel's Apology, and his 'solid answer' to the Jesuit Campian's Book of the 'Ten Reasons,' but also by his work against Bellarmine, which was regarded most highly by Whitgift[46]. He was sent for by the Archbishop, in 1595, to assist in drawing up those nine propositions touching the Predestinarian controversy, which are known by the name of the Lambeth Articles. They were indeed 'chiefly of his framing, and to be maintained by his learning[47];' and when, soon after the completion of them, the death of Whitaker took place at Cambridge, Whitgift was penetrated with profound sorrow. The generous affection which the Archbishop felt and expressed for Whitaker is the more remarkable, inasmuch as there were some points of his conduct as Master of St. John's, of which he had not hesitated to pronounce his disapproval[48]. It is clear, also, that Whitaker was a disciple of the Calvinistic school; and, although the assent of Whitgift to the Lambeth Articles is a proof, that, on certain points of

[45] Bishop Horsley's Remarks upon Dr. Priestley's Second Letter, p. 461.

[46] Strype's Parker, ii. 165; Collier's Eccles. Hist. vii. 184.

[47] Strype's Whitgift, ii. 278—297. 315. It is scarcely needful to remind the reader, that this attempt to make Calvinistic Articles a symbol of our Church entirely failed.

[48] Strype's Whitgift, i. 517—521.

doctrine, he received the interpretation adopted by that school; yet the Puritanic bias, generally associated with it, was, as far as it was exhibited in England, totally abhorrent from his mind. Of this bias, Whitaker had been strongly suspected; and that Whitgift should not have been scared by such imputations, but have displayed a frank and cordial and consistent friendship towards the man upon whom they rested, is a convincing proof that he was guiltless of the charge, so frequently urged against him, of bigoted intolerance.

To those who review the annals of our Colonial Church, the name of Whitaker commends itself with more than ordinary interest; for the son of that celebrated theologian, was, as we shall soon see, among the firmest and most faithful servants of Christ, who preached His Gospel in Virginia.

Hooker.

Another coadjutor with Whitgift in the field of Christian enterprise, next invites our attention, Richard Hooker. The antagonist, whom he was first called to encounter, was the most formidable of any who had appeared in the ranks of the Puritans, Walter Travers, author of the celebrated work de Ecclesiasticâ Disciplinâ. Travers had been engaged by Cecil, now Lord Burghley, as chaplain, and tutor to his children; and, upon the death of Alvie, Master of the Temple, in 1585, had been recommended by that nobleman, to succeed him. He already filled the office of 'Lecturer for the Evening Sermons' at the Temple; and is described as 'a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, and of a blameless life.' And when,—for the ample and satisfactory reasons stated by Whitgift both to Lord Burghley and the Queen,—his appointment to that office was not

proceeded with, and Hooker was persuaded to accept it, it must be acknowledged, that a way was thereby opened to the most ample and perfect vindication of the Polity of the Church of Christ, which the world has ever yet seen. Most reluctantly, indeed, did the author of it enter into this 'book-war,' as his biographer designates it; but it was 'a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason;' or, as Hooker himself describes it, he 'thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, following that method which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth[49].' And, as far as the monument of his victory was permitted to be reared up by his own hand, it remains, and will to the end of time remain, to confirm the truth of those testimonies which enemies, as well as friends, bore to it upon its first appearance[50]. The composition of this matchless work of Hooker arose, as is well known, out of the opposition which existed between the views of Travers and himself, whereby, as it was said by one at that time, 'The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva.' These points of difference may be seen in the summary given by Izaak Walton of Travers's exceptions against Hooker, in the petition which he laid before the Privy Council; and of Hooker's answer to them. But the conflict was not

[49] Walton's Life of Hooker, 35. 43. 65; Hooker's Preface to the Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, Works, iii. 4.

[50] Pope Clement VIII., for example, when he had read the first Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, said of it, 'There is no learning that this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will gain reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning.' Walton's Life, 50.

determined by the publication of these documents. And, 'though,' according to Walton's authority, 'the chief benchers gave [Hooker] much reverence and judgment, yet he there met with many neglects and opposition by those of Master Travers' judgment: insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief: and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate sober Treatise of the Church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to show such arguments, as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it[51].' That he succeeded, indeed, fully in forcing that assent, no man can dare to say. To presume that such a result were possible, would be to ascribe to mortal man a power which belongeth to none but God. He only who hath made the hearts of men can unite them. It is His children's part to proclaim reverently His message, and obey diligently His laws: they must then patiently abide the issue. That this was the duty which Hooker essayed to do, and this the spirit which animated him in the performance of it, we may truly affirm. And that Whitgift should have cheered and helped him, amid the difficulties which he had to encounter, is among the brightest records of his faithfulness as chief pastor of the flock of Christ, in that day of rebuke and trouble[52].

[51] Walton's Life of Hooker, pp. 66—84.

[52] Most truly is it observed by the last learned editor of Hooker's Works, that 'acute and indefatigable as [Whitgift] was in his efforts to produce a reaction [against the innovating influences of his day],

That day soon closed upon Whitgift himself; but not until he had witnessed another proof of the mutability of all earthly glory, in the death of the Sovereign, in whose counsels he had borne a part so long. He lived also to set the crown upon the head of her successor, James I.; and to be present at that memorable Conference, which was held at Hampton Court, at the beginning of the year 1604, for the purpose of adjusting some of the matters in dispute between the Church and the Puritanical party. It would far exceed the limits of the present chapter, were I to enter into any detailed account of the fears and hopes which were awakened by the accession of the Scottish monarch to the throne of England. Suffice it to say, that, whilst the education and early associations of James, gave good reason for apprehending that he would not look with favour upon that Ecclesiastical Polity, which Elizabeth had been so zealous to uphold, such apprehensions were not realised. The alterations, which the Puritan members of the Conference desired to be made in the Liturgy, and other ordinances of the Church, were not agreed to; and the arguments, if such they could be called, which the King employed, touching the various matters which came under discussion, as well as the predilections which he expressed, were all in favour of their opponents [53].

Accession of James I.

Hampton Court Conference.

not only by his official edicts and remonstrances, but by his disposal of preferment also, and the literary labours which he encouraged, there was no one step of his to be compared in wisdom and effect with his patronage of Hooker, and the help which he provided towards the completion of his undertaking.' Keble's Preface, p. lxiv.

[53] Fuller's Church History, in loc.

The language of compliment, addressed to the King at this Conference by Whitgift and other Bishops who were present, has been made the subject of severe, and certainly not unmerited, reproach by historians. But they have forgotten to observe, that the employment of language which appears now (if it be correctly reported) so fulsome and unbecoming, may, in great measure, be ascribed to the fashion of the age, in which expressions of a superlative and extravagant character were every where in vogue. And this at least may be affirmed with safety, that, if the conclusion be attempted to be drawn from the utterance of it on the part of Whitgift, that he was of a flattering and fawning spirit, it is an inference, to which the tenor of his whole life forms one uniform contradiction. Especially is it contradicted by his bold unwavering declaration to Elizabeth, soon after his consecration to the See of Worcester; wherein he told the Queen of the solemn responsibilities with which she was invested as temporal governor of the Church, and of the perils which would ensue to herself, if, in violation of them, she persisted in the course of conduct which the Earl of Leicester was then tempting her to follow.

Death of Whitgift.

This spirit of faithfulness failed not to guide and animate Whitgift even to the end. And, when the hour of mortal sickness came upon him, it employed his latest breath in the utterance of fervent prayer unto God for the protection of His Church. 'Pro ecclesia Dei, Pro ecclesia Dei,' were the last words he spake[54]. And, verily, that prayer has been answered, God has visited and protected His Church.

[54] Strype's Whitgift, i. 172—175. ii. 506; and Walton's Hooker, 52—58.

Else, would she not have been overwhelmed and lost for ever, beneath the raging of that storm which soon burst over her? The coming shadows of the storm were even then at hand: but, ere that crisis came, some important circumstances in her history require to be noticed. Foremost among these, was the completion of the authorized Translation of the Bible. The commission for executing this great work was issued soon after the Conference at Hampton Court; and arose, in fact, out of certain objections then urged against the last English Translation of the Bible, which had been made during the Primacy of Parker, and was generally known under the name of the Bishops', or Parker's, Bible. The translators entered upon their arduous duties in 1607; and, four years afterwards, the Sacred Volume was given to the Church of England, and remains to this hour the dearest inheritance of her children [55].

Translation of the Bible.

The first Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, which had been summoned, together with the Parliament, at the beginning of James's reign, met for the purposes of business March 20, 1604 [56], whilst the See of Canterbury was yet vacant. A second writ was accordingly issued, authorizing Bancroft, Bishop of London, to preside at the Synod; and a Book of 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical,' a hundred

Canons.

[55] For an account of the various Translations of the Bible, see Bishop Short's History of the Church of England, Appendix D. to chap. xii.

[56] It had begun to sit in London in 1603, (see the title prefixed to the Canons,) and hence they are usually called the Canons of 1603; although, in reality, they were not ratified till the year following. They were received and passed about two years after, in the Province of York. Preface to Burn's Eccl. Law, xxxi.

and forty-one in number, was then compiled out of the body of Synodical Acts which had been passed in the years 1571 and 1597[57]. These Canons, although published by the King's authority under the Great Seal of England, were 'never confirmed in parliament;' and 'it has been solemnly adjudged, upon the principles of law and the constitution, that where they are not merely declaratory of the ancient law, but are introductory of new regulations, they do not bind the laity' of the Church[58]. Neither is their obligation upon the clergy as entire and effectual as it ought to be. It is true 'that they are,' as stated by Archdeacon Sharp, 'the standing ecclesiastical laws of the realm, the constant rules of the ordinaries' enquiries at their visitations, the grounds of presentments of delinquents and irregularities upon oath, and the foundation upon which ecclesiastical censures and judgments commonly stand.' But his declaration is equally true, that 'the alterations of customs, change of habits, and other circumstances of time and place, and the manner of the country, have made some of them impracticable;' at least, 'prudentially so, if not literally. Others of them are useless and invalid on course, through defect

[57] Fuller's Church History, x. 28.

[58] Blackstone's Commentaries, i. 86. See also the judgment of Lord Hardwicke, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in the case of Middleton and Croft, 10 Geo. II., in which he says, 'The canons of 1603, not having been confirmed by parliament, do not *proprio vigore* bind the laity; I say, *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority; for there are many provisions contained in these canons, which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England, received and allowed here, which, in that respect, and by virtue of such ancient allowance, will bind the laity; but that is an obligation antecedent to, and not arising from, this body of canons.' Preface to Burn's Eccl. Law, xxxii.

of proper officers and proper enquiries to render them of force and effectual. And there are hardly any of them, but what have been, upon extraordinary occasions, dispensed with by our governours[59].' The recital of these facts cannot but excite, in the minds of all dutiful members of the Church, a feeling of deep regret, and of earnest desire that the time may soon come, when these defects shall be safely and effectually repaired. As long as they remain in their present state, it is plain that the discipline of the Church must be grievously impaired at home; and, that, in the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire, where, from the circumstances of the case, the presence and controul of spiritual discipline among the members of the Church is yet more imperiously demanded, the want of it must operate as an additional and most serious impediment to her progress. Most devoutly, therefore, is it to be wished, that this object may more and more be brought home to the consideration both of the spiritual and temporal rulers of our country. And, if a code for the well ordering of the Colonial Church can be legitimately agreed upon, then may the hope be further entertained that it may serve as a basis, upon which to reconstruct a body of practicable and consistent ecclesiastical law for her people at home.

Meanwhile, it is a matter of thankfulness to know, that, if the obligation of the Canons upon the Clergy be thus defective; and if they fail also, of their own authority, to controul the lay members of the Church, the penalties, which are affixed in some of them against

[59] Archdeacon Sharp, quoted by Bishop Mant, in his notes on the Prayer Book.

those who impugn her authority, remain equally inoperative. They are penalties of an awful character, and carry with them additional terror, when associated with the power of those Courts which existed at the time of their enactment, and with the extent of civil disabilities which then oftentimes accompanied the exaction of them. And, even if separated for ever from such perilous alliance, it can hardly be denied that the frequency with which the sentence of excommunication is appealed to in some of the earlier Canons, has a tendency to weaken the sense of its real character among the people, and to place in a false position before them the Church from which proceed such heavy censures. It is well, therefore, for her, that she should be at least spared this trial; and be left to win her way by the exercise of means which earthly tribunals never gave, and earthly enemies can never take away; even "by pureness, by knowledge, by longsuffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left (2 Cor. vi. 6, 7)."

Archbishop Bancroft.

Bancroft, Bishop of London, and President of the Synod, at which the body of 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical' was drawn up, was also their chief framer[60]. And this fact explains, in some degree, the rigour of the penalties annexed to them. For, although a holy, conscientious, and learned man, and one to whom the Church is largely indebted for the zeal with which he contended "for the faith which was once delivered unto the

[60] Heylyn's History of Independence; Strype's Whitgift, ii. 526.

saints (Jude 3);" although gifted with a generous spirit[61], and, as will be seen in the next chapter, anxious not only to strengthen the Church at home, but to extend her ministrations to the infant Colonies about to spring up in the Western Continent; yet were his counsels, doubtless, characterised by overmuch severity. Even Collier, who says of Bancroft, that he 'filled his see with great commendation,' describes his 'strictness' as 'unrelenting[62].' And, called as he was now to fill the office of Primate, his lack of that wisdom, which had distinguished both his immediate predecessors, was speedily made manifest. He had long been familiar with all the chief points of controversy which were so hotly discussed in that day. We have Whitgift's own testimony, for believing that 'he had been a preacher against Popery above twenty-four years,' before he was consecrated Bishop of London; and the celebrated Sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, in 1589[63], as well as his two works in

[61] The following striking evidence of it is recorded in Southey's Book of the Church, 437, 'A minister, estimable in all respects, saving that he troubled himself and others with those busy scrupulosities which were the disease of the party, told him in private, that it went against his conscience to conform, and therefore he must submit to be deprived. Bancroft asked him how then he would be able to subsist? He replied, 'that nothing remained, but to put himself on divine Providence, and go a begging.' 'You shall not need that,' the primate answered, 'come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance.'

[62] Eccles. Hist. vii. 366. 311.

[63] Strype's Whitgift, ii. 386. It is remarkable that one of the strongest arguments urged by Bancroft, in this Sermon, against the Presbyterian discipline, is adopted, in terms substantially the same, by Hooker, in the Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity. The words of the latter are: 'A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and his apostles,

defence of the Church, entitled 'Dangerous Positions,' and 'Survey of the pretended Discipline,' are testimonies which prove, no less clearly, the thorough mastery which he had acquired over all the subjects connected with the Puritanic Controversy; and the extent,—in some instances, indeed, an untenable extent,—to which he was prepared to carry his defence of those principles, upon which the authority of the Church of England is established.

But his own deep, unfeigned, conviction of their truth and importance, rendered him intolerant of all who refused to recognise them. And when can intolerance be, with impunity, indulged? The evils, attendant upon it, are sure to be visited upon their author. Hence, it is the most perilous, as well as the most frequent, consequence of division, let it assume what aspect it may. In the present instance, indeed, we can trace somewhat of its pernicious character in the description given of Bancroft, by one who was certainly disposed to regard his actions in a favorable light; who yet speaks of him, in his own quaint manner, as 'having well hardned the hands of his soul, which was no more than needed for him who was to meddle with nettles and bryers, and meet with much

in the word of God, and no church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed every where, throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.' For the parallel passage in Bancroft's Sermon, see Keble's edition, i. 194, 195.

opposition;' and, again, that he 'tasted plentifully' of the poison which fell from the lips of malicious men, 'till at last, as (Mithridates) he was so habited with poisons they became food unto him[64]. None of the causes had then ceased to operate, which, in the reign of Elizabeth, had led to such unhappy strife. The monarch was as arbitrary as his predecessor, but less wise; the laws were enforced by penalties as oppressive and severe as ever; and the disturbing forces which provoked the infliction of them, whether on the side of Rome or of the English Separatists, were in no degree less. The counsels of the Gunpowder Plot, for instance, point out the extent to which Papists could proceed; and the description given of the Puritans by Bacon, in a Treatise written during Bancroft's Primacy, proves that time had not mitigated their hostility[65]. Exposed, therefore, as the Archbishop was to such trials, it was no improbable result that the workings of his own inflexible disposition should be strengthened, and the dangers which were already fast thickening around the Church should become aggravated. Bancroft, indeed, has not to bear alone the whole weight of this burden. His strict and rigorous counsels were enforced, with perhaps even greater stringency, in the ensuing reign; and the sequel of this history will show what fatal consequences to the

[64] Fuller's Worthies of England, Lancashire, 112. He adds by way of illustration, 'that once a gentleman coming to visit Bancroft, presented him a lycbell, which he found pasted on his door, who, nothing moved thereat, Cast it, (said he,) to an hundred more which lye here on a heap in my chamber.'

[65] 'An Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England,' Works, vii. 53—55.

welfare of our Church abroad, as well as at home, were produced by such measures.

Their mischief was perceived and noted by many who watched the progress of them in that day; and by none more clearly than by the illustrious Bacon. His 'Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England,' which has just been mentioned, is a proof of this. In reading the prayer, for instance, which its writer addressed unto God, 'to inspire the Bishops with a fervent love and care of the people; that they may not so much urge things in controversy, as things out of controversy, which all men profess to be gracious and good;'—and the enumeration of such maxims as these, that 'laws, not refreshed with new laws, wax sour;' that, 'without change of ill a man cannot continue the good;' that 'a contentious retaining of custom is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation;' that 'he seeketh not unity, but division, which exacteth that in words, which men are content to yield in action;' that 'laws are likened to the grape, that being too much pressed yields an hard and unwholesome wine:'—it can scarcely be doubted, but that there was present to the mind of that great philosopher, a painful consciousness of the neglect of these principles, manifested in Bancroft's conduct.

It is true that an opposite view of the Archbishop's character is presented by other writers. Hacket, for example, describes him as 'the Atlas of our Clergy in his time.' Heylyn, when he records his death, declares that with him 'died the uniformity of the Church of England.' And Clarendon, speaking of the same event, says that it could be 'never enough lamented;' and, that, 'if he had lived, he would quickly

have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva[66].' But,—not now to dwell upon the circumstances which may have induced the last-mentioned historian to have put, in perfect sincerity, the most favorable construction upon the acts of Bancroft,—the correctness of the hypothetical conclusion which he has here drawn may justly be disputed. For the 'fire kindled at Geneva' had been burning even in England, as we have seen, for upwards of half a century; and where was the hand which, in a few brief years, could have extinguished it? Certainly not his, who cast into the flame that fresh fuel, which is supplied in the irritated passions and wounded consciences of men.

Archbishop Abbot.

Whilst Bancroft's rigour proved a hindrance in the way of accomplishing the great work which he sought to advance, the laxity and remissness of his successor, Abbot, in maintaining the order of the Church, encumbered and discouraged her not less. His was not the laxity, arising from the excess of benevolence,—that bias to which a kind and gentle spirit is inclined, and to which some compensation may be found in the soothing and conciliatory behaviour which accompanies it,—for in some matters, no man was more bold and resolute than he. The prerogatives of the High Commission Court, for example, he maintained and enforced with a degree of strictness which was never before known, and set at nought the prohibitions by which Coke had endeavoured to restrain their exercise[67]. The causes in that Court,

[66] Hacket's Life of Williams, ii. 37; Heylyn's Life of Laud, 62; Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 156, 157.

[67] See the account of Abbot's Life, drawn up evidently by a friendly hand, in the Biographia Britannica.

which amounted only to eight at the time of Whitgift's death, increased more than an hundredfold under Abbot; and the sentences passed therein were no longer pronounced with that lenity by which they had been often characterised, even during Bancroft's Primacy [68]. That such a man should have weakened the hands of his own Clergy, and disheartened the Lay members of her communion, by favouring that section of the Puritanical party which had hitherto displayed such little regard for Church ordinances, can only be accounted for, by admitting the truth of the charge preferred against him, that he was indifferent to some of the most important principles upon which the authority of the Church depends, and by which her distinctive character is made manifest to the world. Neither was this indifference the necessary result of the attachment which he avowedly entertained for the doctrinal theology of Geneva; for the example of Whitgift and others, in assenting to the Lambeth Articles, proves that an agreement with Calvin in some of his most prominent views of doctrine was compatible with the most stedfast belief in the authority of the Ministry, and in the efficacy of the Sacraments, which Christ has constituted and ordained in His Church. It must have arisen from the sympathy which Abbot felt and expressed, without any disguise, towards the advocates of the Genevan discipline; and this sympathy, probably, had been quickened into stronger action by the very efforts which his predecessor had made to put them down. The force, which had been urged too long and too powerfully in one direction, now came back with more impetuous recoil

[68] Southey's Book of the Church, 437, 438.

to the opposite quarter. Nothing, however, is more difficult than to form a correct estimate of the character of one who lived in such critical times, and who is represented in such different colours by writers of opposite sides. Thus much at least is certain, and it ought to be thankfully noted, that, whatsoever be the difference of opinion concerning the wisdom of Abbot in his government of the Church, none at all exists with respect to his personal holiness and piety. There were many occasions on which he was weighed strictly in the balance, and was not found wanting.

The ability of the Church of England to carry on the Missionary work at this time,

The attempt, which has been thus far carried on, to place before the reader a general view of the condition of the Church of England, under Elizabeth and James I., has been made only for the purpose of enabling him to judge more truly the nature of the difficulties which then encompassed her. Our previous enquiries have shown that it was the age which witnessed the first acquisition by the English of any foreign settlements; and since, in those new fields of enterprise, it could not but happen that most of the same elements of evil or of good, which had been in long and active operation at home, would soon be again developed; since their progress might be expected to be even more rapid, and the collision produced by their antagonistic forces more violent, from the narrow limits of the space allotted to them within the borders of new Colonies; it seemed scarcely possible to avoid entering into some examination of the existing causes of disturbance.

Compared with that possessed by the Roman Catholic

Meanwhile, it is important to observe, that the Romish Church, although deprived of her mightiest and most glorious

countries, Spain, Portugal, and France,

arm, by the severance of England from her communion,—a severance, of which her own corruptions, and the putting forth her unlawful claims of supremacy, were the only causes,—was yet enabled to set up the ensigns of her worship in the ampler colonial territories of Spain, and Portugal, and France, free from the assaults of any enemies who weakened her strength from within, or clamoured for her destruction from without. And more than this. Her system of operation not only remained intact amid those states of Europe, which still acknowledged her authority, and the dominions of which were so extensive; but she had received, by the institution of the Order of Jesuits, an accession of new and wonderful energy, at the very period when her sinful conduct was multiplying the trials of England.

Whether the success of her Jesuit missionaries were deserving of all the credit which her historians and divines have claimed for them; or whether the record of their labours may not be found to display many an evidence of their opposition to the very Church of which they professed themselves to be the ministers,—and, what is yet more important, to the Gospel of that blessed Saviour, whose cross they laboured to set up in foreign lands,—are questions which it is intended to examine in the sequel of this history. The fact, which the reader is now requested to bear in mind, is, that, whilst no position can be imagined more beset with difficulties than that of England, in the age which witnessed the plantation of her first settlements in America, the Church of Rome was in full possession of ready and most efficient instruments to propagate her name and worship to the furthest corners of the earth.

Nor is it only in relation to the Church of Rome that this remark holds good. If a comparison be made of the condition of England with that of the other Protestant countries of Europe, which, during the same period with herself, were seeking to extend their commerce and dominions abroad, it will be found that she had to contend with difficulties far greater and more numerous than any which attached to them. Holland, for example, was building up the fabric of her greatness, at the time when that of England seemed tottering to its fall. True, Holland was not exempt from the evils of religious controversy. The persecutions endured by Grotius, and the proceedings of the Synod of Dort, in 1618,—identified as they are with the whole history of Arminius and the Remonstrants of Leyden,—are testimonies enough to prove, that, if intolerance and rancorous animosity be evidences of man's infirmity, the States of the United Provinces were not behind the rest of the world in supplying them. Nevertheless, it cannot be disputed, that, in the efforts of the Dutch to make the extension of the Christian faith commensurate with the extension of their maritime and commercial greatness, they were much less obstructed in their career by adverse combinations of external circumstances than were the citizens of our own country.

And with other Protestant countries, Holland

The like may be said of Denmark, another Protestant nation, to whose missionary labours the southern continent of India has been so largely indebted. The proof of these statements will appear, when the history connected with them passes under review. At present, the most transient glance only can be taken at the important facts which

And Denmark.

they involve. But this much at least we may be justified in drawing, as a conclusion from these and other records of history noticed in this chapter, that, if England, which now stands foremost among the empires of the earth, reached not that summit but by the pathway of a long, and arduous, and oft-repeated discipline; and if the truth of that Gospel, which is her choicest heritage, has thus been permitted to survive the fiercest assaults of her adversaries; then must the testimony of her faithfulness and love be seen in her walking by the guidance of that truth, or the greatness of her dominions shall only speed on her downfall. If she be regardless of her trust, "the kingdom of God shall be taken from" her, "and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." (Matt. xxi. 43.)

CHAPTER V.

VIRGINIA AND THE BERMUDAS IN THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

A.D. 1603—1610.

Attempts to colonize North America renewed under James I.

In resuming the course of enquiry which has been interrupted, for the purpose of noticing the subjects reviewed in the last chapter, we find, that, soon after the accession of James I., the attention of many men of influence and high station was again fixed upon the scheme of planting settlements in North America. They were attracted to that object through the favourable reports brought to England by Gosnold, who had sailed, in the last year of Elizabeth's reign, for the purpose of exploring the coast north of Virginia. He pursued a higher parallel of latitude than that followed by his predecessors; and thereby discovered and gave names to some of the chief capes and islands belonging to that portion of North America which is now called New England. He returned home, about three months after James had ascended the throne, and published, in glowing and just terms, an account of the beauty and fertility of those regions, and the inviting prospect which they opened to his country-

men. His account was confirmed by notes of the same voyage, taken out of a Tractate written by Rosier to Sir Walter Ralegh; and vessels were forthwith sent out to ascertain the truth of the reports which these writers had proclaimed[1].

Expedition from Bristol.

The first of these expeditions, under the command of Pring, was fitted out in 1603, by some of the chief merchants and inhabitants of Bristol. They were mainly incited to the enterprise by Hakluyt, from whose important volumes so much information has already been derived; and who was, at that time, Prebendary of St. Augustin, in the Cathedral Church of Bristol. This diligent chronicler of England's maritime achievements was descended from an ancient family in Herefordshire, and brought up at Westminster. From that school, he was elected, in 1570, to a studentship of Christ Church, Oxford, where he was a contemporary and friend of Sir Philip Sidney; and inscribed to him his first collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582. From his well known love for that pursuit, he was appointed, about the same time, to read public Lectures in the University on the subject of voyages and discoveries; and discharged the duty with great success. He was strongly urged by Sir Francis Walsingham, both on private and public grounds, to continue his 'travell in these and like matters;' and the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, the fortunes of which have been already told, and which then was on the eve of sailing, received at his hands the most valuable assistance[2]. Wood states, that, before he entered Holy

Notice of Hakluyt, its chief promoter.

[1] Purchas, iv. 1647—1653.

[2] Purchas, iv. 1654; Fuller's Worthies (Herefordshire), 39;

Orders, he lived for some time in the Middle Temple, where he supposes that he studied the municipal law. But there is good reason for believing this statement to be erroneous. A kinsman, who bore the same name with himself, was a member of that Society, and Wood has mistaken the one for the other. To this kinsman and namesake, Richard Hakluyt, the Prebendary, owed his first ardent love of historical and geographical knowledge: and, in his 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to Sir Francis Walsingham, prefixed to the first edition of his voyages, he thus describes an interview which, in his boyhood, he had with his cousin.

Motives in early life inducing him thereto.

'I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiestie's scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord, certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniversal Mappe. He seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance by showing me the diuision of the earth, into three parts after the olde account, and then according to this latter, and better distribution into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities and particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, and entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalm, directed mee to the 23 and 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet, together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolued, if ever I were preferred to the Vniuersity,

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Wood's Athen. Oxon. ii. 186; Fasti Oxon. i. 193. 206; Zouch's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, 347; Hakluyt, iii. 205. 227.

where better time and more conuenient place might be ministered for these studies, I would, by God's assistance, prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.'

His diligence.

Thus was the foundation laid of that valuable store of knowledge which Hakluyt afterwards acquired. At what cost of toil and anxiety he acquired it, we may learn from the following passage in the Preface to the Second Edition of his Voyages.

'I do this second time, friendly reader, presume to offer vnto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape which here thou seest, what restlesse nights, what painefull days, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have travailed; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue perused; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entered; what expenses I haue not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gain, preferment, and ease, I haue neglected; albeit thyself can hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do find and feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seem easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expences of light value and moment to me.'

His religious zeal.

It is important to observe that the ends to which Hakluyt ever strove to make subordinate the knowledge so acquired, were the highest and noblest which the Word of God reveals. Soon after he was ordained, he proceeded to Paris as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador; and, whilst in that city, availed himself of every opportunity to promote the object which he had so much at heart. The sacred duties to be performed,

and the blessings ultimately to be accomplished by the extension of the British name, in foreign lands, were never absent from the mind of this extraordinary man. Nor was he slow to press them upon the attention of those who possessed and exercised influence in his native country. A remarkable evidence of this appears in two epistles dedicatory, which he wrote from Paris, in 1587, to Ralegh, the one in Latin, prefixed to his edition of Peter Martyr's History of the New World, and the other in English, prefixed to his translation of the voyages to Florida, made by the French admiral, Laudonnière. In the first of these, he expressly declares that the glory of God is the great end to which the extension of the borders of a Christian State should be subservient, and that each step made in this extension should be regarded as a fresh summons to promote it. Upon this ground, and with reference to this lofty aim, he urges Ralegh to persevere in the work which the acquisition of Virginia had placed before him. No grander monument, he assures him, could he raise, no brighter name could he leave to future generations, than the evidence that he had therein sought to restrain the fierceness of the barbarian, and enlighten his darkened mind by the knowledge of the true God[3]. In the second, he

[3] I subjoin Hakluyt's own words, as they are found in the passage to which I have referred: 'Judex rerum omnium tempus, diligensque tuorum ministrorum inquisitio, multa inopinata quæ adhuc latent, modò Deus intersit, nobis aperient. Deum autem adfuturum non est cur dubites, quandoquidem de ipsius gloriâ, animarum infinitarum salute, Reipublicæ Christianæ incremento agitur. Eja ergo age ut cœpisti, et æterni tui nominis ac famæ apud posteros, quæ nulla unquam obliterabit ætas, relinque monumenta. Nihil enim ad posteros gloriosius nec honorificentius transmitti potest quam barbaros domare, rudes et paganos ad vitæ civilis societatem

speaks of the different objects which different men propose to themselves in the prosecution of discoveries such as those in which Ralegh was then engaged; and observes,

'Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement; others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that oftentimes by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes; the fewest number the glorie of God, and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truly say with the Apostle to the Sauages, wee seeke not yours but you (2 Cor. xii. 12): I conceiue great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weaknesse, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building[4].'

Of this success, as far as Ralegh was concerned, we have seen that the first efforts to colonize Virginia gave no proof. Yet, who can doubt, but that Hakluyt, when he urged forward the renewal of further efforts in the same direction, and gave the influence of his character and rank in the Church to their support, and even consented himself to become, as we shall find that he did, one of those to whom King James granted his first Letters Patent, was animated with a sincere desire to promote the same precious object which he had proposed to Ralegh's mind, even 'the glorie of God, and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels?'

Upon Hakluyt's return to England, he resided frequently at Bristol, having been appointed to a Prebendal stall in its Cathedral, during his absence in

revocare, efferos in gyrum rationis reducere, hominesque atheos et à Deo alienos divini numinis reverentiâ imbuere.'

[4] Hakluyt, iii. 366.

France. He was afterwards preferred to the rectory of Wetheringset in Suffolk. But, whatsoever sphere of duty engaged him, he never laid aside the great work of watching over, and recording, and giving a right and salutary direction to, the discoveries which his countrymen were making in different quarters of the globe. There was no document of an authentic character which escaped his careful search. Fuller gives a correct description of them, when he says that they were

'taken partly out of private letters, which never were (or without his care had not been) printed. Partly out of small treatises, printed, and since irrecoverably lost, had not his providence preserved them. For some pamphlets are produced, which for their cheapnesse and smalnesse men for the present neglect to buy, presuming they may procure them at their pleasure, which small books, their first and last edition being past (like some spirits that appear but once) cannot afterwards with any price or pains be recovered. In a word, many such useful tracts of sea adventures, which before were scattered as several ships, Mr. Hakluyt hath imbodied into a fleet divided into three squadrons, so many volumes. A work of great honour to England[5].'

Hakluyt was anxious also to make permanent provision for interesting and instructing the public mind upon this important subject, by the establishment of a Lecture on the art of navigation; and held out the example of Sir Thomas Gresham, as one which the rulers of England might well follow. But the attempt, notwithstanding that it received the encouragement of Sir Francis Drake, proved fruitless. In 1605, Hakluyt was appointed a Prebendary of Westminster; and

[5] Fuller's Worthies (Herefordshire), 40. The three volumes of Hakluyt in Fuller's day are now increased to the number of five; and it is that edition (1809) which has been followed in the present work.

became, in the next year, a member of the Company to whom Virginia was assigned under James I., watching carefully over the affairs of the Colony until his death, which took place in 1616. He was buried in Westminster Abbey[6].

Another expedition sent out by Southampton and Arundel.

The expedition which Hakluyt had been instrumental in sending to America from Bristol, in 1603, was followed by another which sailed from the same port in 1605, under the command of Captain Weymouth, and was fitted out by Henry, Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Thomas Arundel. The account of its progress is given by Rosier, the author of the Tractate before mentioned on Gosnold's voyage, and is full of interest[7]. It bears evident marks of having been written by one, who, whilst he recorded fresh discoveries and opportunities of extending temporal dominion, sought thereby to enlarge the borders of Christ's spiritual kingdom. It were needless now to dwell upon the other particulars which it contains. I will therefore only add that it amply confirmed the favourable description, given by Gosnold, of the countries north of Virginia.

Letters Patent granted by James I. for the plantation of Virginia.

The receipt of such cheering information was soon followed by the appearance of the first Letters Patent, granted by James I., for the plantation of Virginia. They bear

[6] Biog. Brit. in loc. The name of Hakluyt still lives in some of the northern regions of the globe. Bylot, who had Baffin as his pilot, gave it to an isle in Baffin's Bay, 77° 25′ N. and 64° 20′ W. Hudson conferred it upon a promontory of Spitzbergen, 79° 47′ N. and 60° 51′ E. And some English navigators called after him a river which they discovered in 1611, near Petschora.

[7] Purchas, iv. 1659—1667.

date April 10, 1606. The whole territory, assigned by this instrument to the parties named therein, was the portion of the American continent lying between the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude, and the islands adjacent to it within an hundred miles of the coast. This territory was divided into two parts; the first, southward, between 34 and 41 degrees of north latitude, assigned to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and divers others, knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London and elsewhere, as a place of settlement, and retaining still its original title of Virginia. The second, which afterwards received from Prince Charles the title of New England, extended from 38 to 45 degrees of the same latitude, and was assigned to Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and others of the towns of Plymouth, and Bristol, and Exeter. The different Companies were invested with authority to settle in any part of each province most convenient for them, and to have a right of property over fifty miles along the coast each way from the place of their first habitation, and also over one hundred miles into the interior. There was thus an obvious intermixture of the two districts in the geographical limits marked out for their respective boundaries. But the danger of collision likely to arise from that cause was expressly guarded against by the sixth Article of the Charter, which provided that whichsoever Colony established itself last, should not come within an hundred English miles of any plantation already made by the other[8].

[8] Bancroft, in his History of the Colonization of the United States, i. 120, 121, says that the extent of the southern district was

The privileges conferred upon the Colonists were, in substance, the same with those which have been already noticed in the instances of Gilbert and of Ralegh: and the government of each Colony was to be conducted by a Council of thirteen persons, to rule and to be ruled according to articles set down and confirmed under the Privy Seal. Another Council, consisting of the same number of persons, was also to be established in England for the superior management and direction of the affairs of the two Colonies[9]. Sir Thomas Smith was appointed the first Treasurer.

Their character.

The character of this Charter, as well as of the several Articles, Instructions, and Orders which accompanied it, has been justly described as more consonant with the high notions of kingly prerogative and arbitrary power prevalent in that age, than with the principles of justice and freedom, upon which alone any successful system of colonization can be established[10]. But, whilst I fully admit this fact, I must not omit to notice, as some have done[11], another point, which stands forth no less

from 34 to 38 degrees of north latitude; and that of the northern from 41 to 45 degrees; whilst the intermediate district from 38 to 41 degrees, was open to the competition of both companies. I cannot find any authority for this statement.

[9] Stith's Virginia, Appendix, No. 1; Purchas, iv. 1683; Chalmers's Political Annals of Virginia, 13.

[10] Robertson's America, Works, xi. 181; Chalmers, ut sup. p. 14. 'What right,' asks the last writer, here quoted, 'could a people be said to enjoy, who, without possessing the smallest particle of self-government, were at once subjected to the will of the prince; to the edicts of a council they did not appoint; to the ordinances of a commercial association over which they had no controul?'

[11] Robertson is one of the writers who have been guilty of this

prominently in the same document, namely, the recognition of the duty incumbent upon a Christian nation to communicate through her Colonies the knowledge of the truth which she professes, and of the mercy which she enjoys. The desire of the Colonists to settle in America was listened to by the King, and the means of promoting it granted by him, because, as it is expressly set forth in the terms of the Patent,

'So noble a worke may by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glorie of his Divine Maiesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages (living in those parts) to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government.'

Religious feelings of those engaged in the enterprise.

That this was no mere formal statement, but the expression of a feeling which sincerely influenced the minds of many who led such enterprises, is evident from the testimonies to that effect which are found in the narratives connected with them. These testimonies are the more valuable, because they are obviously undesigned, and arise incidentally out of the relation of events which took place. Thus, to cite one instance out of many, the narrator of Waymouth's voyage, in 1605, states that their party refused an invitation, which some of the natives urged upon them, to push their discoveries further, because, as he says,

'We would not hazard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private or particular ends, being more regardfull of a pub-

omission; and it is the more remarkable, since, notwithstanding that he professes carefully to revise the contents of these Letters Patent, he passed over the very same provision, (see pp. 48 - 50, *ante*,) in his description of the Charter granted by Elizabeth to Gilbert. Chalmers, on the other hand, distinctly acknowledges it.

lick goode, and promulgating God's holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the interest of our adventurers so well as ours [12].'

Provision by Royal Ordinance, for the celebration of Divine Worship according to the Church of England.

It should be observed also, that, before the expedition, which was fitted out under the authority of the above Charter, left England for Virginia, an Ordinance was further passed under the sign-manual of the King, and the Privy Seal, in which occurs the following important declaration:

'That the said presidents, councils, and the ministers, should provide that the Word and Service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doctrine of the Church of England [13].'

The expedition sailed December 19, 1606, under the command of Captain Newport, 'a mariner well practised for the westerne parts of America.' The Minister of our Church, who accompanied it, was Robert Hunt. To his hands was committed the high and holy work of consecrating to God's glory the settlement of the British name in America; and all that is recorded of his ministry proves that the choice of such a man for such an office was made in a faithful spirit. It is much to be deplored, that the minutes of proceedings of the Virginia Council at home have been lost, notwithstanding the precautions of the excellent Nicholas Ferrar to save a copy of them, when the tyrannical

Robert Hunt, the first Minister of our Church in Virginia.

[12] Smith's Virginia, 20.

[13] Stith's Virginia, 37. This instrument was dated Nov. 20, 1606, and is truly described by Chalmers, ut sup. 16, 'as a provision for the interests of religion, by interweaving into the Virginian constitution the establishment of the Church of England.'

decree of the Star Chamber went forth afterwards against the Company[14]. They would probably have supplied much clearer information than can now possibly be obtained with respect to the first proceedings of the Colony, and the view taken of them by Hakluyt and others who were associated with him in its management. It is also highly probable that they would have furnished us with many particulars concerning Robert Hunt, and the manner of his appointment, which it would now be so interesting and important to ascertain. I am thankful, however, to have found in the Lambeth Library a manuscript which throws some light, however faint, upon this latter point. It is marked in the catalogue as 'anonymous;' and the description is so far correct that its author's name is not formally inscribed upon it. The dedication is not signed at all. But, perceiving that it was a Journal of the earliest proceedings of the Colony, I felt persuaded that it would well repay perusal. Nor was I disappointed; for I found it written by a person of no less importance than Edward-Maria Wingfield, one of those to whom the Patent was granted, and who, upon the arrival of the Colonists in Virginia, was elected their first President. It contains a minute account of the transactions which chiefly concerned himself, from the time of their first landing in Virginia, to his return to England, after he had been deposed from his office. This manuscript will be further noticed in the course of the present chapter: for I am not aware that its contents have, in any shape, been placed before the public. The point, however, which

[14] Peckard's Life of Ferrar, in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog. iv. 169.

it is important to observe, at the present moment, is the following notice, given by the writer of Hunt's appointment:

'For my first worke (which was to make right choice of a spirituall pastor) I appeele to the remembrance of my Lo. of Caunt. his grace, who gave me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whom I took with me, truly a man, in my opinion, not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humor of a papist spirit, nor blemished with the least suspicion of a factious schismatic.'

Appointed under the sanction of Archbishop Bancroft, on the recommendation of Hakluyt.

It is evident, from this passage, that not only was Robert Hunt a man well and favourably known to the people of England, but further, that Archbishop Bancroft was consulted in the matter of his appointment; that Wingfield, evidently one of the most influential of the parties concerned, waited upon his grace expressly for that purpose; and that, with the concurrence, and under the authority of, the Primate, this first Presbyter of the English Church went forth to the work which awaited him. It is proved also by the testimony of another witness, that Hakluyt, as well as Wingfield, was concerned in obtaining this authority from the Archbishop for Hunt's appointment. In a pamphlet, written some years later by John Smith, to which I shall frequently refer, I find him describing the amount of the benefice, afterwards established in the capital of Virginia, as having been appointed by the Council in England, and allowed by the Council in Virginia. He adds also that it was

'confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, An. 1605, to master Richard Hacluit, Prebend of Westminster, who by his authority sent master

Robert Hunt, an honest, religious, and courageous Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death [15].'

The Clergyman, to whom this high testimony is borne by one so well qualified to give it, had many and sore difficulties to encounter from some of the companions of his voyage. But the struggle bore witness to his own integrity. And the fact that such a man was among that company, is one of the most grateful memorials which we possess of their early history [16]. It is a light which breaks through the thick gloom of their disastrous trials. Even in the outset of the voyage, the record of their proceedings contains this affecting notice of the trials by which Hunt was assailed, and of the spirit with which he endured them:

His character.

'On the nineteenth of December, 1606, we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time Mr. Hunt our Preacher was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes [17]) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scan-

[15] Smith's 'Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters,' &c. 33.

[16] Bancroft, the historian of the United States, adds his testimony to that which has been given by every other writer upon this subject, and describes Robert Hunt as a 'clergyman of persevering fortitude and modest worth.' i. 118.

[17] It is evident, from this expression, that Robert Hunt's habitation must have been in Kent; and I find in Hasted's History of Kent, iii. 640, that Robert Hunt, A.M., was appointed to the Vicarage of Reculver, Jan. 18, 1594, and that he resigned it in 1602. I cannot find, in the list of the Kentish Clergy at that time, any other Mr. Hunt who bore the same Christian name; and, coupling the date of the resignation above stated with the period at which

dalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example,) quenched those flames of envie and dissension [18].'

It is evident that some members of the Council at home must have been influenced too much by private interests, or they would have shown greater discrimination in the choice of the men whom they sent forth to that new settlement. In the Instructions, which they added to their own Orders, and which they drew up as a means of assisting the Colonists towards a proper observance of the Royal Ordinances under which they had authority to act, they made a full and distinct recognition of the only principles upon which the good government of their body could be maintained. They declared therein, that

'the way to prosper and obtain success was to make themselves all of one mind, for their own and their country's good; and to serve and fear God, the giver of all goodness, since every Plantation which He did not plant, would certainly be rooted out [19].'

But what availed such Instructions, if so many of those to whom they were addressed were resolved to put them to scorn?

the first pastor of the English Colony must have been contemplating his departure to America, I think it most probable that he was the Vicar of Reculver.

[18] Smith's Virginia, 41; Purchas, iv. 1705.

[19] Stith's Virginia, 44.

Captain John Smith.

One ground of dissension was the jealousy which many of the leading men entertained of Captain John Smith, the first historian of Virginia; and, as the sequel of the narrative will show, a man of the highest integrity, and zeal, and courage. The notices which are extant of his previous life, had we time to enumerate them all, exhibit him more like some fabled hero of romance, than one who actually lived as a man amongst men. They are, nevertheless, distinguished by an air of truth which leads the reader to the conclusion, that such were really the exploits which he achieved, and the dangers from which he escaped. The fact also that Smith drew up the report of them with his own hand, at the request of Sir Robert Cotton, is a further guarantee for believing it to be authentic. And, since his history of Virginia fully proves, that, wherever he is the narrator of his own deeds, he neither displays any vain-glorious spirit, nor indulges in a rhetorical style of narrative, the fair presumption is, that, with equal faithfulness and simplicity, he has recorded the autobiography of his former years [20]. Taking, therefore, the received account of this extraordinary man, we find, that, although not more than twenty-seven years of age when he embarked for Virginia, he had already served as a soldier in the Low Countries, and, after passing through many adventures in France and Italy, had entered the

[20] Burk, in the Preface to his History of Virginia, p. ii., describes Smith's Work as 'a sort of epic history or romance, where the author, like Ossian, recounts his achievements in the spirit with which he fought.' This is not a correct description. The greater part of Smith's History is made up of the narratives of his companions, expressed sometimes, certainly, in grandiloquent terms; but Smith's own language is remarkable for its simplicity.

Austrian army against the Turks; had distinguished himself by the most signal feats of personal prowess; had been left for dead upon the field of battle; had thence been taken up and sent as a slave into the service, first, of a Turkish lady at Constantinople, and afterwards of her brother, a bashaw of the country near the Sea of Azov; that, having escaped from him, he had fled through parts of Russia and of Poland, and returned to his friends in Transylvania; that, before he turned his steps towards England, he had next passed over to Morocco; and, upon his passage homewards in a French galley from that country, had taken part in a long and desperate engagement with two Spanish men-of-war whom she encountered.

Many of his contemporaries, who had witnessed some of these scenes of his eventful life, helped to increase Smith's fame by their reports of him [21]. And his return to England, at the time when the preparations for the Virginian Colony were in progress, combined with his own love of enterprise, led to the selection of him as one of those who should accompany it, and be intrusted with a share of its management. He was regarded, indeed, as I have just said, with suspicion and fear by many who embarked with him; and it is probable that the reputation of his name and mighty deeds may have stimulated their apprehension of his overwhelming influence. But, from whatever cause, it is clear that they were ready to proceed to the worst extremities against him; for, after their departure from the Canaries, they threw him into confinement, upon the pretence of a design entertained by him of enslaving and murdering them. At the end

[21] Stith's Virginia, 107; Churchill's Voyages, ii. 373, &c.

of a tedious voyage,—so tedious that the captain of one of the three vessels which formed the squadron desired to bear up the helm for England, and give up further search,—the voyagers descried the southern promontory of Chesapeak Bay, to which they gave the name of Cape Henry, which it still retains, in honour of the then Prince of Wales. To the northern promontory of the same Bay, the name of Cape Charles was also then given, in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards Charles I. This occurred April 27, 1607; and a party from the squadron, having landed, came into collision with some of the natives. No life appears to have been lost on either side; but, doubtless, the foundation was herein laid of future troubles[22].

Arrival in Virginia.

Upon examining that night the sealed orders which they had brought, and which were not to be opened until their arrival in Virginia, a discovery was made, which added not a little to the confusion of Smith's enemies. For his name was found actually recorded as a member of the Council, by which the Colony was to be governed. Great opposition was, of course, made to his admission; but, before that matter could be determined, it was necessary that a spot of ground should be selected for their future habitation. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, a promontory was chosen for that purpose, on the northern bank of a river which flows into Chesapeak Bay, called by the natives Powhatan, after the name of their king; but the English gave to it the name of James River. Upon this spot, about fifty miles from the river's mouth, they resolved to build

Settlement of James Town.

[22] Smith's Virginia, 21—43; Purchas, iv. 1685.

their first town, to which they gave likewise the name of the English monarch. As soon as this point was settled, 'the Councell,' in the words of the original narrative, 'was sworne, Mr. Wingfield was chosen President, and an oration made why Captaine Smith was not admitted of the Councell as the rest.' Every accusation against him was forthwith renewed, and supported with all the eagerness which jealousy and envy could supply. But Smith triumphed over them; and, when at length a sum of £200 was awarded to him, by way of satisfaction for the injuries which he had endured, he generously returned the whole amount for the use of the Colony. In the midst of this painful discord among the rulers of the infant settlement, the affectionate services of their Minister were quickly, and for a time successfully, employed to allay its evils.

'Many,' it is said, 'were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant, yet ambitious, spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher, Mr. Hunt, reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the Councell.'

The Holy Communion celebrated.

'The next day,' adds the same narrative, namely, the day after Smith's admission, and the day before Newport's return to England, 'all received the Communion;' all, that is, who, being won by the conversation and prayers of their spiritual guide, and remembering the obligations which they had obeyed and the privileges which they had enjoyed at home, were ready to draw near in faith, repentance, and charity, and take that Holy Sacrament to their comfort. Some, it cannot be doubted, from the humiliating description already given of their character and conduct, must have stood aloof from this solemn assembly of their brethren, and been

strangers to the spirit of reconciliation and peace with which the hearts of the rest were filled. The day, on which this first celebration of Christ's holy ordinance was observed by Englishmen, upon the shore of the western continent, was Sunday, June 21, about five weeks after they had fixed upon the site of their future habitation[23]. The interval had been taken up in exploring the unknown territory; in opening such intercourse as they best could with the natives; and in clearing away the ground, and collecting materials for the building of their town. Newport also, with some of their party, had gone higher up the river, to obtain a better knowledge of the country; and, from the manuscript journal of his progress upon

[23] Dr. Hawks in his Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States, p. 20, and Mr. Caswall in his work upon America and the American Church, p. 164, both say that the 14th of May was the day on which the Communion was first celebrated. I can find no authority for this date, and believe it to be incorrect. It is clear from the narrative which I have followed in the text, that the oration against the admission of Smith into the Council was not formally made until the 13th of May, when the site of James Town had been marked out, and the rest of the Council had been sworn. It is equally clear that the Holy Communion was not celebrated until the day after Smith's admission into the Council. Therefore, unless his acquittal of the charges brought against him, and the consequent reconciliation, had been the work of a moment it is impossible that these two days could have immediately followed each other. There must have been a considerable interval between them. What that interval was, and upon what authority its extent is determined, are points which I have stated in the text.

I have since observed that Bishop Wilberforce, in his History of the American Church, p. 22, assigns the same date to the first celebration of the Holy Communion in Virginia, as that given by Dr. Hawks and Mr. Caswall. This has led me to examine again more carefully my own statement; and, having done so, I see no reason to depart from it.

that occasion, now in the State Paper Office, I have copied and subjoin the entry, made on the day after he returned to his quarters:

'June 21. Sonday We had a Communyon. Captain Newport dyned with our dyet, and invyted many of us to supper as a farwell.'

On the following day, Newport returned to England[24], leaving an hundred and five of his countrymen upon the border of James River[25].

Difficulties of the Colony.

Such was the small nucleus around which gathered, in little more than a century and a half afterwards, a population so vast and strong as to be victorious in the struggle with the powerful country from which they derived their origin. And, small as this band was, half its number was swept off by sickness or hunger, before the autumn of that year had passed away. They had not, says the narrative written by some of the survivors, and still extant, any

'place of reliefe but the common kettell,' out of which was 'equally distributed half a pinte of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day; and this having fryed some six and twentie weekes in the ship's hold contained as many wormes as graines; so that wee might truely call it rather so much bran than corne; our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in the ayre; with this lodging

[24] In the extracts referred to above from Smith, and copied for the most part by Purchas, iv. 1705, the date of Newport's departure is said to have been on the 15th of June; but the separate and more circumstantial narrative of Percy, confirmed as it is by the manuscript in the State Paper Office, is no doubt correct. In the Lambeth manuscript also, before referred to, I find this further proof: 'June 1607. The 22nd. Captayne Newport returned for England, for whose good passage, and safe retorne wee made many prayers to our Allmighty God.'

[25] Smith, pp. 43, 44; Purchas, iv. 1689. 1706.

and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakened vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue Countrey, or any other place in the world.'

A circumstance is mentioned in President Wingfield's manuscript, which shows, in a remarkable manner, the careful and pious reverence manifested by the Colonists for the due celebration of Christ's holy ordinance, in their sad extremity. He states that when

'the common store of oyle, vinegar, sack, and aquavite were all spent, sauing twoe gallons of each; the sack was reserued for the Communion table.'

Wingfield deposed from the Presidency, and succeeded by Ratcliffe.

The miseries of the Colonists were aggravated by the divisions of the President and Council. Wingfield was, after a few months, deposed, upon the charge of wishing to abandon the settlement, and of being meanwhile unmindful of its wants; and Ratcliffe was appointed in his place. All printed documents, concerning this period of Virginia's history, press hard upon Wingfield's character. The only defence of him is that contained in the above manuscript, which vindicates him from one portion of the charges brought against him, in the following quaint terms:

'As I understand by report I ame much charged with staruing the Collony I did always giue euery man his allowance faithfully, both of corne, oyle, aquivite, &c. as was by the Councell proportioned; neither was it bettered after my time untill towards the end of March, a bisket was allowed to euery workeinge man for his breakefast, by meanes of the provision brought us by Captain Newport, as will appeere hereafter. It is further said I did much banquit and ryot; I never had but one squirrell roasted, whereof I gave a part to Mr. Ratcliffe then sick; yet was that squirrell given me.

I did neuer heate a flesh pott, but when the common pot was so used likewise; yet how often Mr. Presidentes and the Councillors haue night and daie been endangered to break their backes so laden with swanns, geese, ducks, &c. How many tymes their flesh potts have swelled, many hungry eies did behold to their great longing: and what great theeves and theeving thear hath bene in the comon stoar since my tyme, I doubt not but is already made knowne to his Maties. Councell for Virginia.'

The new President and his chief coadjutor, it is said, being 'little beloved, of weake judgment in dangers, and less industrie in peace,' committed the managing of all things abroad to Captain Smith[26].

Valuable services of Smith.

And, in the midst of all their difficulties and distresses, he is ever firm, courageous, and persevering. At one time, he is found urging on the people to build and thatch their houses, anxious to provide each with a place of lodgment, but neglecting any for himself; at another, going abroad to open intercourse and trade with the native inhabitants of the country; then, watching and checking the attempts made by some of the party to flee to England. In the midst of these valuable services to his countrymen, Smith was one day surprised and taken prisoner by the natives, and brought into the presence of their king Powhatan, who with his 'two hundred grim courtiers,' stood staring at him. After

His life saved by Pocahuntas.

having been kept in a state of suspense for several weeks, the instruments of death were at length prepared for him; his head was laid upon two stones; and the savages stood by with clubs ready to dash out his brains, when Pocahuntas, a child only twelve or thirteen years of age, and a favorite daughter of the King, ran forward, and

[26] Studley's narrative in Smith's Virginia, 45.

by her entreaties prevailed upon her father to spare his life. The King soon afterwards sent Smith back to his countrymen at James Town; and there, within a short time, at the close of 1607, he had the satisfaction of seeing a reinforcement both of men and supplies brought by Newport from England [27]. Upon the strength of the assistance thus seasonably obtained, and by the skill and sagacity of Smith in directing it, a friendly intercourse was opened not only with king Powhatan, but also with his brother, Opechancanough, the king of Pamaunke.

Church built at James Town.

Of the minister of God, who was all this time watching over and helping his distressed fellow-countrymen, we can only gather here and there a few scattered notices. Yet they are valuable; for they show him to have been patient, and constant, because faithful. Amid the rude log cabins, which were rising up on the banks of James River, the piety and zeal of Robert Hunt caused a House of Prayer to be erected [28]. The

[27] Studley's narrative in Smith's Virginia, 49; Purchas, iv. 1709. It appears from the Lambeth manuscript, that Smith was indebted to Newport's timely arrival for the preservation even of his own life from the malice of some of the settlers. During Smith's absence from James Town, Archer had been (illegally, as Wingfield declares,) sworn a member of the Council: and 'being settled in his authority sought how to call Mr. Smythe's lief in question, and had indited him upon a chapter in Leviticus, for the death of his twoe men. He had his tryall the same daie of his retorne, and I believe his hanging the same, or the next daie, so speedy is our law thear, but it pleased God to send Captain Newport unto us the same euening to our unspeakable comfortes, whose arrivall saued Mr. Smythe's lief, and myne, because he took me out of the Pynnasse, and gave me leaue to lye in the Towne.'

[28] Captain Newport's mariners gave valuable help in this work.

character of this first English Church in the New World, and the account of the sacred services then celebrated in it, are thus touchingly described by Smith, in a pamphlet, written by him some years after the publication of his History of Virginia, and to which I have expressed my intention of referring:

The services therein celebrated.

'I have been often demanded by so many how we beganne to preach the Gospell in Virginia, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers, therefore I think it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings. When I first went to Virginia, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut plankes; our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees; in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our minister died. But our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers came. And surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continual inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wildernesse[29].'

Lambeth MS. ut suprà. The designation of this MS. in the Catalogue is No. 250, fol. 382.

[29] 'Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England, or any where,' &c. p. 32. The above pamphlet was printed in 1631; and, at the end of it are these words, 'John Smith writ this with his own hand.' He dedicates it to Archbishop Abbot, being desirous, he says, 'to leave testimony to the world, how

Before the first winter had passed over the heads of those who worshipped beneath its humble roof, the Church was burnt down, together with the greater part of the dwellings of the new Colony. The fire broke out in the storehouse, in which several hundred bushels of corn, obtained by barter from the natives, had lately been deposited; and, as the houses were all thatched with reeds, its flames spread quickly, and destroyed not only them but the palisades, which had been set up for the defence of the town, together with the arms, and great part of the clothing and provisions, belonging to the settlers. The following mention is made of Hunt in the narrative which describes their disaster:

The Church burnt.

Hunt's patience and constancy.

'Good Master Hunt our Preacher lost all his Librarie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yet none ever saw him repine at his losse. Upon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any; and till he could not speake he never ceassed to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist: whose soule questionlesse is with God [30].'

How long the spirit of this good man was permitted thus to animate and controul his brethren, before it left its earthly tabernacle, to be, as it is so confidently expressed by the narrator of his services, 'with God,' we know not. Some have thought that he lived for a year or two longer, and

Hunt's death.

highly' he honou as well the Miter as the Lance;' and, in one passage, describes minutely the part of England in which he wrote it. Thus, speaking of the trees in Virginia, his words are, 'for many an hundred mile they for the most grow streight, like unto the high grove or tuft of trees, upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight, Sir Humphrey Mildmay, so remarkable in Essex in the Parish of Danbery, where I writ this discourse.' p. 25.

[30] Purchas, iv. 1710.

that the first marriage in Virginia, which took place towards the end of 1608, was solemnized by him[31]. This, however, is mere conjecture; and I am disposed to think, that, had he lived so long, some more distinct traces of his valuable ministrations would have been preserved. The influence of Hunt's character and example was shown, in the spring of that year, by the rebuilding of the Church; a work, the commencement of which is described as having been simultaneous with that of repairing the palisades, and planting the corn-fields, and recovering the store-house. But, after this, I can find no evidence of his services; and, since they had been as prominent as they were valuable, and the disorganized state of the Colony needed them more than ever, the conclusion seems to be inevitable, that the shepherd was taken from the flock, over which he watched so anxiously and faithfully, early in the second year of its settlement in that strange land[32]. Indeed, the above passage from Smith's pamphlet proves that Hunt's career must have been very brief. And, truly, the "mer-

The Church rebuilt.

[31] Hawks's Eccles. Contrib. 22; Smith's History, p. 73.

[32] Smith's History, 53. The following entry in the Lambeth manuscript is worthy of notice. It is written by Wingfield in answer to a charge brought against him, that he had forbidden Mr. Hunt to preach: 'Two or three Sundayes morninges the Indians gave us allarums at our Towne, by that times they were answered, the place aboute us well discouered, and our divine service ended, the daie was far spent. The preacher did ask me if it were my pleasure to haue a sermon; hee said he was prepared for it. I made answer that our men weare wearie and hungry, and that he did see the tyme of the daie farre past (for at other tymes hee neuer made such question, but the seruice finished he began his sermon) and that if it pleased him, wee would spare him till some other tyme. I never failed to take such noates by writinge out of his doctrine as my capacity could comprehend, unlesse some rainie daie hindered my endeavours.'

ciful" and "righteous" man may, in this instance, be said to have been "taken away from the evil to come" (Isa. lvii. 1); for enemies many and fierce, even the greedy and unbridled passions of man's devices, soon entered in and made further havoc of the flock. Smith stood forward boldly to resist the adversaries; but he stood well-nigh alone. Scrivener, a newly appointed member of the Council, seems to have been his only hearty supporter. The vessel, which had brought out their first supplies, was about to return with her disorderly crew, laden, as they eagerly, but vainly supposed, with gold; and the historians of the Colony thus describe the wretchedness of the scene:

'The worst was, our guilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold; such a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands, lest they should by their art make gold of his bones. Captain Smith (they go on to say) was not inamoured with their durty skill, breathing out these and many other passions; neuer did any thing more torment him, than to see all necessary business neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much guilded durt.'

In reading the narration of such humiliating scenes, varied only by the history of fresh quarrels and divisions, we feel them to be so painful, that we are tempted to omit altogether the notice of them. Nevertheless, the justice of the remark made by one of the writers restrains us from doing this; for he says, that 'it were better their baseness should be manifest to the world, than the busines bear the scorne and shame of their excused disorders[33].'

[33] The narrative of Studley and others in Smith's History, 46—53.

Smith's continued energy.

Upon the departure to England of the vessels which had brought their supplies, Smith set himself zealously to the work of opening a communication with the natives, and exploring not only the adjacent shores of Chesapeak Bay, but also those of the river Rappahanoc, the Pamaunke (now York), and the Potomac, which discharge their waters into it. Upon his return to James Town, his honest energy was again demanded to repair the disorders which had grown up in his short absence; which being done, he went forth once more to make fresh discoveries along the shores of two other rivers which flow into the same Bay, the Susquehannah, and the Patuxent. The vessel, in which these voyages were performed, was a small open barge, containing fourteen men. And it is remarkable, that, amid all the perils and difficulties of this roving life, the devotional habits of Smith and his associates seem never to have been laid aside. The following evidence of it occurs in the history, given by one of his followers, of a meeting held with some Indian Chiefs, on his second expedition:

His devotional habits.

'Our order was daily to haue Prayer with a Psalme, at which solemnitie the poor Salvages much wondred; our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their businesse.'

The narrative is full of stirring incident, and told with a sincerity and distinctness which stamp it with the impress of truth; but there is not time to dwell upon it[34]. Upon Smith's return to James Town, he was by the election of the

Appointed President.

[34] The narrative of Bagnall and others in Smith's History, 53—65. A map of Chesapeak Bay and of the rivers which run into it,

Council, and request of the Company, appointed to the office of President. And it is not a little characteristic of the order of proceedings under his authority, that, in the very next sentence after that which describes his elevation, we read,

'Now the building of Ratcliffe's [the former President's] Pallace stayed as a thing needlesse; and the church was repaired.'

Arrival of more settlers.

Soon afterwards, a second reinforcement of men, about seventy in number, and supplies, arrived from England; and, again, under the command of Newport[35]. A great portion of the time and strength of the Colonists, in spite of Smith's entreaties, was now spent, in heaping presents upon Powhatan, and offering to him, whose country they had actually invaded, the mockery of a coronation. Were it not for the gross outrage against truth and justice involved in the whole proceeding, the reader might be tempted to smile at the following description of it:

Coronation of Powhatan.

'All being met at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for his Coronation; then the presents were brought him, his bason

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together with a description of the various tribes inhabiting the neighbouring countries, was drawn up by Smith and sent to the Council in England. It is inserted in some editions of Purchas, and in Smith's own History; and is drawn up with such exactness as to be the model from which all subsequent maps of Virginia have been chiefly copied. See Smith's letter to the Treasurer in England (p. 71), and Holmes's American Annals, i. 133.

[35] Smith's Virginia, 66—72. Among those who then arrived, was 'Master Francis West, brother of the Lord La Warre' [De la Warr] who was soon afterwards the first Governor of the Colony. West is spoken of, on more than one occasion, as a man of kind and gentle nature. Some Dutch and Polish artizans were also of the party, and sent for the purpose of introducing the manufacture of glass, &c.

and ewer, bed and furniture set up, his scarlet cloke and apparell with much adoe put upon him, being persuaded by Namontack they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his Crowne, he neither knowing the meaning nor the majesty of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the Crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well[36].'

The English next tried to discover, and establish intercourse with, the tribes which dwelt beyond Powhatan; and renewed their fruitless experiments of sifting and refining the earth for gold. Unwilling as Smith and his people were to carry these, and other equally absurd, instructions into effect, they were nevertheless compelled to do so, on pain of remaining for ever as banished men in Virginia[37]. The last detachment of settlers appears to have done more mischief, in the vicious habits which it was the means of introducing and keeping up among the Colonists, than benefit by the addition which it gave to their numbers; and the letter, which Smith sent home, in consequence, to the Treasurer and Council in London, is an admirable specimen of honest and indignant zeal rebuking ignorance and folly.

Smith's heavy trials.

The history of the events which followed must be passed over rapidly. The expeditions, undertaken by Smith and the parties under his command; their interviews with Powhatan; the stratagems and counter-stratagems to which each party resorted, that they might gain their several ends; their hair-breadth escapes, their daring deeds,

[36] Smith's Virginia, 68.

[37] Chalmers, ut sup. 22.

and enduring fortitude, exhibited under every variety of aspect, might well lead us to pause and review them more closely. But to do this would be to defer too long the special object of this work. One point, however, deserves notice, namely, the constant train of services which the young daughter of Powhatan rendered to the English, amid all their dangers and vicissitudes. It has been seen already, that, by her cries and prayers, she had saved the life of Smith, at the very moment in which the clubs of the savages were raised to murder him. Thus, likewise, in the beginning of the year following, when he and his company, having gone to visit her father, were, through his designs, in danger of being starved, she came 'in that darke night through the irksome woods,' and, with her eyes streaming with tears of tenderness, cheered them with the tidings that she would send food; and, within an hour afterwards, sent abundance by the hands of some of the Indians. Her services did not end there, as the sequel of the history will show. But the difficulties from which the English were saved, for a time, whilst they were in the woods, came back upon them, with all its aggravated horrors, after their return to James Town. At first, indeed, their affairs proceeded peaceably; they built twenty more houses, and finished the restoration of their Church. But their provisions soon failed them; and then, for three months, they dragged on a miserable existence, their chief and best food consisting of the flesh of sturgeon dried and pounded, and mixed up with sorel and other herbs. In this, as in every other crisis, the energy and fortitude of Smith remained unshaken.

Second Charter.

Meanwhile, the repeated tidings of ill success which had reached England from

the Colony, induced those who were interested in its welfare, to apply to James for a fresh commission, giving them enlarged powers, and extending their influence over a wider and more influential portion of the community. They obtained this new Charter, which recited and confirmed the first, in May, 1609. Some of the chief Nobility and Bishops, most of the commercial Companies, and several merchants and others of high character, were now added to the number of those who had been before engaged in the enterprise, and incorporated under the name of 'The Treasurer and Company of the City of Adventurers, of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia.' The number of Peers in this Company were twenty-one, among whom may be noticed Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, then Lord High Treasurer, and Henry, Earl of Southampton. The names, also, of Abbot, then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop, of Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, of Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln, of Parry, Bishop of Worcester, and Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, are to be found in the list. Hakluyt, as might be expected, retaining the interest which he had ever felt in such enterprises, was again seen in the ranks of the second Virginia Company; and with him were associated Sir Edwin Sandys, the pupil of Hooker, and John and Nicholas Ferrar, and others, whose memory, precious as it ever must be in the sight of all true-hearted members of the Church of England, is rendered yet more dear by reason of the efforts, which, in the face of the heaviest discouragement and sorest oppression, they strove to make in her behalf, in the infant Colony of Virginia.

The whole list of the members of this second Com-

pany presents a most imposing array of influence[38]; and that the labours of so many who were zealous, and faithful, and persevering, in that assembly should have proved abortive, is only a demonstration of the faulty nature of the machinery which was supplied in the provisions of their Charter, and with which alone they had the power to work. In what way this machinery frustrated the labours of those to whom it was consigned, will be seen hereafter. Meanwhile, it may be observed, that lands, which formerly seem to have been conveyed in trust, were now granted in absolute property. License was also granted to carry to Virginia all persons willing to go thither, provided they had first taken the oath of supremacy; and, among the privileges intended for the benefit of the settlers, was granted a freedom from all subsidies in the Colony for twenty-one years, and from all impositions on imports and exports to and from England, except only 5 per cent. due for customs. The Colonists and their descendants were declared to be entitled to the same rights which they would have possessed, had they remained within the realm; and the power of enforcing martial law, in case of rebellion or mutiny, was granted to the Governor[39].

Lord De la Warr appointed Governor.

The first, who bore the office of Governor, or Captain-General, of Virginia, was Thomas, Lord De la Warr, a man in whom there is every reason to believe, that, if his life had been prolonged, the Colony would have found a just and wise ruler. Descended from a long line of noble ancestry, and already summoned to the discharge of

[38] Smith's Virginia, 130—138; Stith's Appendix, No. II.

[39] Chalmers, ut sup. 25.

duties which showed the great confidence which his Sovereign reposed in him[40], he consented to leave the honours and prospects which awaited him at home, and accept, as it has been well described, 'a barren province, which had nothing of a government but its anxieties and its cares, merely for the service of his country[41].' The Virginian Council at home, in the 'Declaration' which they published in 1610, and which will be noticed presently, speak of this nobleman as 'one of approued courage, temper, and experience, whose honour nor fortune needed not any desperate medecine;' who exposed 'himselfe for the common good to al these hazards and paines which we feare and safely talk of, that sitte idle at home;' who did 'beare a great part vpon his owne charge, and reuiue and quicken the whole by his example, constancy, and resolution.' The truth of this testimony is found in the desire, which his daily life exhibited, to discharge the duties of his high office in a faithful spirit; and also in the pains which he took, that others should receive the same lessons of righteousness which he, in his own person, was anxious to obey.

Crashaw's Sermon.

Among those wholesome exhortations which were, with such plainness of speech, addressed to him and to the others associated with him in the administration of the Colony, may be noticed a Sermon by William Crashaw, at that time Preacher at the Temple, and father of the poet to whom Cowley

[40] His name, for instance, appears in the commission, appointed in the first year of James I., for enquiring into the case of all such persons as should be found openly opposing the doctrines of the Church of England. Rym. Fœd. xvi. 546.

[41] Burke's Account of the European Settlements in America, ii. 219.

has paid so lofty a tribute of praise, and whose sentiments and expressions Pope has not disdained to imitate. The Sermon was delivered, February 21, 1609, in the presence of De la Warr and the Virginia Council, a few months before the departure of the expedition; and, under any circumstances, would deserve attention, from the circumstance of its being, as far as I can learn, the first Sermon ever preached by a minister of the Church of England, to those who were about to carry forth her name and character to the New World. But, independently of this consideration, it possesses other and strong claims to the reader's notice. The text is taken from St. Luke, xxii 32; "But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." The preacher first notices the various glosses which Bellarmine makes upon this passage of Scripture, with the view of proving the supremacy of St. Peter; and, after pointing out their fallacy, proceeds to speak of Christ the Saviour as our true spiritual Physician, and the threefold medicines which we receive from Him; namely, cleansing, restorative, and preservative. He considers the text as an evidence of the last of these, and exhibiting the preservation, afforded to the Church of Christ, through His prevailing intercession. He then divides it into two parts; the first, showing the mercy of our Lord, who thus prayed for His followers; and the second, the duty of St. Peter, who, when he was converted, was to strengthen his brethren.

Under the first of these two heads, Crashaw enforces, with no ordinary power, the great argument which the example of our Lord furnishes towards the practice of prayer by His disciples; and the application

of it to the object which he had in hand shall be given in his own words:

'Let us aboue all duties not forget to pray for our absent friends. When they are present, we doe such duties as may let them see wee loue them, and when they are absent let vs pray for them; that doth testifie to God that wee loue them. And no better dutie can wee perform to this noble voiage now in hand than earnestly to commend it to the Lord. Men may furnish it, but God must blesse it, and praier must procure that blessing. Money may winne, and profit may allure men to assist it; but praier alone can prevaile with God to blesse it. Some ingage their persons, and more their purses; but our petitions shall doe more good than our persons, and our praiers than our purses. Thou, therefore, that canst doe nothing else, yet pray for vs: thou that canst doe more yet pray besides; for though thou shouldest venture thy person, and ingage thy money, yet let vs have thy praiers also, which (if thou bee as thou oughtest) will doe more good than all the rest. Remember the end of this voiage is the destruction of the deuel's kingdome, and propagation of the Gospell. Are not these ends worthy of thy praiers? Remember thy brethren who haue ingaged their persons, and aduentured their liues to lay the first foundation, and doe now liue in want of many comforts and pleasures which thou at home enioiest. Are not these men's soules worthy of thy praiers? Canst thou open thy mouth in publike or in priuate, and not remember them? O, let their liues be precious, and their enterprise honourable in thine eies; and if thou canst doe nothing else, send up thy praiers to heaven for them.'

Again, under the second head of his Sermon, speaking of the duty resulting from our Lord's great mercy, and the necessity of being converted unto Him, he proceeds to make this application of it:

'Whereas Christ bids Peter, when he is conuerted, strengthen his brethren, as though then a man was fitted to doe good to others, when he is himselfe conuerted and not till then: wee may heere learne the true cause why men are so negligent in performance of duties to others, euen because themselves are vnsanctified men: for true loue begins at home: and how can hee loue another that loues not himselfe? or care for another's good, that neglects his owne?

Seest thou, therefore, a magistrate that governs not his people carefully, but lets all runne as it will, and himselfe takes his ease, follows his pleasure, or fils his purse? The cause is, he is an vnsanctified man. Seest thou a merchant or tradesman that deceiues, a master, a father, a husband, wife, childe, or servant, that are negligent or vnfaithful? The cause is, they are vnsanctified: for if a man were conuerted himselfe, his next care will be to doe all good he can to others. More particularly, we heere see the cause why no more come in to assist this present purpose of plantation in Virginea, euen because the greater part of men are vnconverted and vnsanctified men, and seek merely the world and themselves, and no further. They make many excuses, and devise obiections; but the fountaine of all is, because they may not have present profit. If other voiages be set afoot, wherein is certaine and present profit, they run, and make meanes to get in: but this, which is of a more noble and excellent nature, and of higher and worthier ends, because it yields not present profit, it must seeke them, and with much difficultie are some brought in, and many will not at all. Tell them of getting XX in the C. Oh how they bite at it; Oh how it stirres them! But tell them of planting a Church, of converting 10,000 soules to God, they are senselesse as stones: they stirre no more than if men spoke of toies and trifles: nay, they smile at the simplicitie, and laugh in their sleeves at the sillinesse of such as ingage themselves in such matters; but these men proclaime to the world what they bee, euen sowes that still wallow in the mire of their profit and pleasure, and being themselves unconuerted, haue therefore no care to convert others. And indeed no marvell, if having cast all care of their owne salvation behind their backes, they be insensible of others' miseries.'

The arguments, which he urges to induce his countrymen to help the enterprise, are admirably put, and I regret that there is not room to give even a summary of them. The conclusion of the Sermon is taken up with noticing the discouragements which existed in the way of the undertaking, and the aids which were at hand to promote it. With a view to remove the former, he shows the lawfulness of the ac-

tion in which they are engaged; and beseeches them to conduct it in a lawful way.

'A Christian,' he says, 'may take nothing from a Heathen against his will, but in faire and lawful bargain. Abraham wanted a place to burie in, and liked a piece of land; and being a great man, and therefore feared, a iust and meeke man, and therefore loved of the heathen, they bad him chuse where hee would, and take it. No, saith Abraham, but I will buie it, and so he paid the price of it; so must all the children of Abraham doe.'

With regard to the uncertain profit likely to arise from the settlement, he thus speaks,

'If there be any that come in, only or principally for profit, or any that would so come in, I wish the latter may never bee in, and the former out again. If the planting of an English Colonie, in a good and fruitfull soil, and of an English Church in a heathen countrey; if the conuersion of the Heathen, of the propagating of the Gospell, and enlarging of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, be not inducements strong enough to bring them into this businesse, it is pitie they be in at all. I will discharge my conscience in this matter. If any that are gone, or purpose to go in person, do it only that they may liue at ease, and get wealth; if others that aduenture their money have respected the same ends, I wish, for my part, the one in England again, and the other had his money in his purse; nay, it were better that every one gave something to make vp his aduenture, than that such Nabals should thrust in their foule feete, and trouble so worthie a businesse. And I could wish, for my part, that the proclamation which God injoined to bee made before the Israelites went to battell, were also made in this case: namely, that whosoever is faint-hearted, let him returne home againe, lest his brethren's hart faint like his; (Deut. xx. 8.) for the coward not only betraieth himself, but daunts and discourages others. Priuate ends haue been the bane of many excellent exploits; and priuate plots for the gaine of a few haue given hindrance to many good and great matters. Let us take heed of it in this present businesse, and all iointly with one heart aime at the generall and publike ends, lest we finde hereafter to our shame and griefe, that this one flie hath corrupted the whole box of oyntment, though

never so precious. Let vs therefore cast aside all cogitation of profit, let vs looke at better things; and then, I dare say vnto you as Christ hath taught me, that, if in this action wee seeke first the kingdome of God, all other things shall be added unto us, (Matt. vi. 33.) that is, (applying it to the case in hand) if wee first and principally seeke the propagation of the Gospell, and conuersion of soules, God will vndoubtedly make the voiage very profitable to all the aduenturers, and their posterities, even for matter of this life: for the soile is good, the commodities many, and necessarie for England, the distance not far offe, the passage faire and easie, so that there wants only God's blessing to make it gainfull. Now, the highway to obtain that, is, to forget our owne affections, and to neglect our owne priuate profit in respect of God's glorie; and he that is zealous of God's glorie, God will be mindful of his profit; and he that seekes only or principally spirituall and temporal things, God will reward him both with these spirituall and temporal things. And as, though we may not do wel to be wel spoken of, yet if wee do wel, God will make us wel thought of, and spoken of to all good men: so, though wee do not intend our profit in this action, yet, if wee intend God's honor, and the conuersion of soules, God will assuredly send vs great profit, which wee may take lawfully and thankfully as His blessing.'

The appeal which he addresses, last of all, to those who were about to sail for Virginia, is most solemn and forcible. To De la Warr himself, he speaks the following language:

'And thou, most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred vp to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to goe from thy country, and forsake thy kindred and thy father's house, to goe to a land which God will show thee, giue me leaue to speak the truth. Thy ancestor many hundred years agoe gained great honour to thy house[42]; but by this action thou augmentest it. He tooke

[42] The circumstance here referred to, is described by Collins in the account, taken from Froissart, of the capture of the French king at the battle of Poictiers, by Sir Roger la Warr and John de Pelham. This John de Pelham was an ancestor of the Earls of Chichester. Collins's Peerage, v. 490.

a king prisoner in the field in his owne land; but by the godly managing of this businesse, thou shalt take the Diuell prisoner in open field, and in his owne kingdome; nay the Gospell which thou carriest with thee shall bind him in chaines, and his angels in stronger fetters than iron, and execute upon them the judgement that is written; yea, it shall lead captiuitie captiue, and redeeme the soules of men from bondage. And thus thy glory and honour of thy house is more at the last than at the first.

'Goe on therefore, and prosper with this thy honour, which indeed is greater than euery eie discernes, euen such as the present ages shortly will enioy, and the future admire. Goe forward in the strength of the Lord, and make mention of His righteousnesse only. Looke not at the gaine, the wealth, the honour, the aduancement of thy house that may follow and fall vpon thee; but looke at those high and better ends that concerne the kingdom of God. Remember thou art a generall of English men, nay, a generall of Christian men; therefore principally looke to religion. You goe to commend it to the heathen; then practise it yourselues: make the name of Christ honourable, not hatefull vnto them.'

In this strain of high and holy encouragement did the minister of the Church of Christ in England then speak to the 'Adventurers' of Virginia. If there be any alloy of baser feeling mixed up with this language, it is the strong vituperation which he casts upon the enemies by which the Church was beset in that day; and the violent eagerness with which he exhorts his hearers not to suffer any Papists, or Brownists and factious Separatists, to have place among them, in their new Colony. But, with this exception,—for which some excuse is to be found in the tone of feeling and of language so prevalent in that day, and which its alarming dangers were so strongly calculated to sustain,—the Sermon of William Crashaw proves that he was a faithful and courageous minister of Christ; and, that, upon an occasion which involved the most important interests of other nations as well as of

his own, he "gave all diligence to" speak unto his countrymen "of the common salvation[43]."

Symonds's Sermon.

Crashaw's is not the only Sermon preached at that time, from which the reader may judge the sentiments, entertained and expressed by the Church of England, with respect to the great work upon which her children were about to enter. A few weeks after its delivery, another was preached at Whitechapel, upon the same subject, by Dr. Symonds, Preacher at Saint Saviour's in Southwark, 'in the presence of many honourable worshipfull, the Aduenturers and Planters for Virginia.' The title-page sets forth that it was 'published for the benefit and vse of the Colony planted, and to be planted there, and for the aduancement of their Christian purpose.' The text is Genesis xii. 1—3; the Scripture which relates the call of Abram, and the promise of blessing which he then received from God. The following passage, in which the preacher states the reasons why Englishmen should seek to enter the distant regions which were then opening to their view, is a most remarkable one:

'Look seriously into the land, and see whether there bee not iust cause, if not a necessity, to seek abroad. The people, blessed be God, doe swarme in the land, as young bees in a hiue in June; insomuch that there is very hardly roome for one man to liue by another. The mightier, like old strong bees, thrust the weaker, as younger, out of their hiues. Lords of manors conuert townеships, in which were a hundredth or two hundredth communicants, to a shepheard and his dog. The true labouring husbandman, that susteineth the prince by the plow, who was wont to feed manie poore, to set many people on work, and pay twice as much subsidie and fifteenes to the king for his proportion of earth, as his Landlord

[43] Jude 3.

did for tenne times as much; that was wont to furnish the church with Saints, the musters with able persons to fighte for their soveraigne, is now in many places turned labourer, and can hardly scape the statutes of rogues and vagrants. The gentleman hath gotten most of the tillage in his hand; he hath rotten sheepe to sell at Michaelmas: his sommer fed oxen at Easter: asking no better price for his hay, than his beasts, to keep that till spring that they got at grasse. By these meanes he can keep his corne til the people starue, always prouided that the poore husbandmen which are left, and the clothier must buy their seed and wool at such a rate, that shall weare them out in a very few yeeres. And were it not that the honest and Christian merchant doth often helpe, who putteth all his estate upon the prouidence of God, which they call venturing, to bring corne into the land, for which he hath many a bitter curse of the cursed cornmongers, we should find an extreame famine in the midst of our greatest plenty. The rich shopkeeper hath the good honest poor labourer at such aduantage, that he can grind his face when he pleaseth. The poore mettall man worketh his bones out, and swelteth himself in the fire, yet for all his labour, having charge of wife and children, he can hardly keep himselfe from the almes box. Alwaies provided that his masters to whom he worketh, will give never a penny towards his liuing; but they can tell of their owne knowledge, that if the poore man were a good husband, he might liue well: for he receiveth much money in the yeere at their hands, very neere fourepence for every sixepenny worth of work. The though full poore woman, that hath her small children standing at her knee, and hanging on her breast; she worketh with her needle and laboureth with her fingers, her candle goeth not out by night, she is often deluding the bitterness of her life with sweete songs, that she singeth to a heavy heart. Sometimes she singeth, "Have mercy on mee, Lorde;" sometimes, "Help, Lord, for good and godly men doe perish and decay;" sometimes, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord;" and many such like: which when a man of understanding doth heare, he doth with pittie praise God, that hath giuen such meanes to mock hunger with, and to giue patience. I warrant you, her songs want no passion; she never saith, O Lord, but a salte teare droppeth from her sorrowfull head, a deep sigh breatheth as a furnace from her aking heart, that weepeth with the head for company, with teares of sweetest bloud. And when all the weeke is ended, she can hardly earn salt for her water gruel to feede on upon the Sunday. Many such sweets are

in England, which I know not how better to interpret than to say the strong olde bees doe beate out the younger to swarme and hiue themselves elsewhere. Take the opportunity, good honest labourers, which indeed bring all the honey to the hiue; God may so blesse you, that the proverbe may be true of you, that a May swarme is worth a king's ransome.'

Among his concluding remarks, the following may be noted,

'What blessing any nation had by Christ, must be communicated to all nations; the office of his Prophecie, to teach the ignorant; the office of his Priesthood, to give remission of sinnes to the sinnefull; the office of his Kingdome, by word, and sacraments, and spirit, to rule the inordinate; that such as are dead in trespasses, may be made to sit together in heavenly places.' Again, 'If it be God's purpose, that the Gospell shall be preached through the world for a witnesse, then ought ministers to bee carefull and willing to spread it abroad, in such good seruices as this that is intended. Sure it is great shame vnto us of the ministery, that can be better content to set and rest us heere idle, than undergoe so good a worke. Our pretence of zeale is cleare discouered to be but hypocrisy, when we rather choose to mind unprofitable questions at home, than gaining soules abroad.'

Remarks on these Sermons.

In this, as in the former Sermon, there is evidence of the deep feeling of abhorrence and indignation, which prevailed in that day, against the emissaries of the Church of Rome. And, if the reader bear in mind that it was the day in which the minds of men were still reeling under the shock of the horrible and wicked enterprise, which had been plotted against the King and the whole State of England, he will scarcely wonder that some who were so disturbed should have spoken in the strongest terms of reprobation and alarm. But it was only for a moment that their course was thus impeded. The main object which they kept in view, and which they enforced with an earnestness, which ad-

mitted of no retreat from their appeal, was the work of evangelizing the world. And the way, which led to that object, they faithfully marked out, with a breadth, and distinctness, and vigour, of illustration which has been seldom equalled.

Looking at the arguments and exhortations addressed by such men, as exponents of the train of thought, which then generally prevailed among the members of the Church of England, there seem to be two considerations which are directly suggested by them for our own benefit. The one may teach us to regard, more gratefully than we are in the habit of doing, the counsels and labours of a former generation, and to think less highly of our own. It has, certainly, become too much the custom among many of us, in the present day, to suppose that no traces whatsoever of a Missionary spirit in our own Church can be found, in the age which is now passing under review; and, in the same degree that we suppose this to be the case, we are tempted to put too high an estimate upon the tokens of that spirit which we see manifested, at the present time, among ourselves. But if, as is evident from the testimonies enumerated in the present chapter, the spirit of Christian love did truly animate the hearts of many who were engaged in the plantation of the earliest Colonies of England; if the promises of God's mercy and the warnings of God's justice were then sounded in the ears of their countrymen who went abroad to plant them; if they left not their father-land, save with the prayers and affectionate exhortations of those who remained at home; and, if the spiritual blessings, which would have been their portion had they still tarried here, were permitted,—not fully indeed, but yet in a large measure,—to follow

them to other climes; it is our duty, at least, to acknowledge these things; and, acknowledging them, to feel, that, in those days of difficulty and division, God "left not Himself without witness." (Acts xiv. 17.)

The other consideration may teach us this lesson, namely, not to magnify the obstacles which impede our present progress; and, in an invidious comparison of them with those which have been the portion of other ages of the Church, to find a ground for our murmurings, or an excuse for our failures. The distress, for instance, of some of our fellow-citizens, and the oppression, or carelessness, of others; the eagerness with which men pursue each scheme of worldly interest which holds out the promise of temporal gain, and their reluctance to make any sacrifices in the prosecution of a work which seeks the salvation of souls; these are the crying evils which men now find it so hard to remove, and under the pressure of which they are tempted so frequently to complain. And yet, if the spirit of that complaint should lead any one to ask the oft-repeated question, "What is the cause that the former days were better than these?" he needs but refer to the passages which have been just cited, to see, in the description given of the same evils by the writers of those "former days," the justice of the reproof, wherewith the Royal Preacher of Israel restrains the working of such a spirit, saying, "Thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this." (Eccles. vii. 10.)

Gates and Somers depart for Virginia, with Mr. Bucke, their chaplain.

A Clergyman was appointed to accompany the band of Colonists who embarked, under the authority of their second Charter, for Virginia. His name was Bucke. He was a graduate of the University of

Oxford; had been recommended to the Council by Dr. Ravis, then Bishop of London, as a faithful and zealous minister of the Church of Christ; and the history before us will abundantly prove the justice of the appointment. It had been arranged that Lord De la Warr should not enter upon the duties of his office, until the following year. And, consequently, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, the next in authority under him, embarked on board Newport's, the vice-admiral's, ship, and sailed in May, 1609, with eight other vessels under the command of that experienced navigator[41]. The Clergyman, whose name has been just mentioned, was in the same ship with them. The reason which induced the chief commanders to embark in the same ship, was the power of superseding Smith's commission which had been granted to the first of them who should arrive under the sanction of the new Charter, and the difficulty, through mutual jealousy, of determining who that should be. This jealousy gave no very encouraging presage of success; and, as the event speedily proved, was the cause of the chief disaster which fell upon the Colony. For a storm, which overtook them in the Atlantic, and destroyed the smallest of the vessels, separated Newport's ship from the rest of the squadron; and no tidings were heard of her during the remainder of the voyage. The seven remaining vessels reached Virginia, greatly damaged and distressed, early in August.

Separated by a storm from those under their command. The rest reach Virginia.

[41] Chalmers, ut sup. states, that 'Sir George Somers being a Member of Parliament, the Commons declared his seat vacant; because, by accepting a colonial office, he was rendered incapable to execute his trust: and this, it should seem, was the first time that Virginia was noticed in Parliament.'

Some intimation of their approach had been already made to the Colony by Captain Argall, who had been sent out some months before, with letters containing various charges and complaints against Smith; and Smith had sent back, through the same channel, his answer and defence. Under these circumstances, it may be imagined what confusion ensued, when the expedition arrived without its chief commanders. Smith, on the one hand, was ready to delegate his authority to any who were authorised to receive it; but, as long as he remained answerable for its exercise, he was resolute to enforce it. The new comers, on the other hand, were eager and clamorous to have a share in regulating that order of things, which they hoped to keep under their own controul. The character and condition also of the new settlers tended materially to aggravate the difficulties of the Colony, being, it is said, for the most part,

Confusion in consequence.

'poore gentlemen, tradesmen, serving men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoile a commonwealth, than either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one.'

It is difficult to describe the scene in clearer terms than those employed by some of the eye-witnesses, who relate, that in the

'company were many vnruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another; to-day the old commission must rule; to-morrow the new; the next day, neither; in fine they would rule all, or ruine all; yet in charitie,' they add, 'we must endure them thus to destroy us, or by correcting their follies, haue brought the world's censure vpon vs to be guiltie of their bloods. Happie had we beene had they neuer arriued, and we for euer abandoned, and, as we were, left to our

fortunes: for on earth, for the number, was never more confusion or misery than their factions occasioned [45].'

A dark and humiliating page, indeed, it is, in the annals of our history, which relates the quarrels and conspiracies of these unhappy men. In the midst of their troubles, Smith was rendered helpless by the explosion of a powder-flask, which wounded him in a most severe and distressing manner; and, even then, whilst he lay in agony upon his bed, a plot was made to take away his life; but it failed, through the fear of him who 'should have given fire to that mercilesse pistol.' Unable, therefore, any longer to make head against his adversaries; unable even to procure surgical help for the healing of his wounds; knowing that his commission was to be superseded, and that the ships were on the eve of departing for England; he determined to go home in one of them. The Earl of Northumberland's brother consented to act as President in the interim.

Smith wounded, and returns to England.

In spite of all the adverse circumstances which had taken place, the Colony itself was not ill furnished with the means of support, at the time when Smith left it. The number of the men amounted to near five hundred; they were in possession of three ships and seven boats, with commodities ready for trade; the harvest was newly gathered in, and ten weeks' provision in store, besides a sufficient supply of arms, tools, clothing, and cattle. Of the loss sustained by Smith's departure,—and the reality of which was soon witnessed in the calamities which ensued,—the strongest proof is found in the following

His valuable services.

[45] Narrative of Pots and others, in Smith's Virginia, 88—90.

description given of his character by one who witnessed its constant influence, and whose faithful narrative has often been our guide:

His character.

'Had that unhappie blast not happened, [Smith] would quickly have qualified the heate of those humours and factions, had the ships but once left them and us to our fortunes; and have made that provision from among the salvages, as we neither feared Spanyard, salvage, nor famine, nor would have left Virginia nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as dear a price as we had bought it, and payd for it. What shall I say but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings made justice his first guide, and experience his second, even hating baseness, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that neuer allowed more for himselfe, then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see vs want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loued action more then words, and hated falshood and covetousnesse worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deaths[46].'

The Bermudas, their position.

Another page, in the history of those who had embarked as Colonists for Virginia, is now to be presented to our view. In the midst of the Atlantic Ocean, at a distance of about six hundred miles from the American continent, lies a cluster of islands, which extend in a crescent-like shape, from east to west, in length about twenty miles, and in breadth two miles and a half. Their very existence was unknown for thirty years after the first discovery made by Columbus of the Western world; and, when tidings of the fact at length reached Europe, it was but to announce the wreck of a Spanish vessel upon the rocks with which these islands are surrounded. The name of the vessel, or of

[46] Ib. 93.

its captain, was Bermudaz; and the same was given in consequence to the islands themselves. The English mariners, therefore, who ventured to sail in that direction, sought rather to avoid than to visit the dangerous spot. Strange and portentous rumours, also, were spread abroad, which ignorance and love of the marvellous were not slow to exaggerate. These islands were reported to be the habitation of furies and monsters, whose enchantments evoked fierce hurricanes, and rolling thunders, and visions of most hideous aspect. Shakspeare, accordingly, did but avail himself of the prevalent belief in these wild stories, and make this department, as indeed every other, of the world of fiction or of reality, tributary to his own genius, when, in his play of the Tempest, he introduces Ariel, as able

> 'To fly,
> To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
> On the curl'd clouds;'

and makes her answer the question of Prospero by saying,

> 'Safely in harbour
> Is the king's ship; in the deep nook where once
> Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
> From the still vex'd Bermoothes, there she's hid [47].'

Gates and Somers wrecked there.

Upon the 'still vex'd' shore of these very islands, was wrecked the vessel which, we have said, contained Gates, Somers, and Newport, commanders of the expedition which sailed in 1609 for Virginia. They, and the whole of the ship's company, amounting to an hundred and fifty souls, succeeded in landing in safety; and found,

[47] Shakspeare's Tempest, Act i. Scene ii.

to their joy, that the spot, which had been long associated in their minds with images of confusion and terror, was fair and beautiful. So inviting a prospect of safe and commodious habitation did it hold out, that some of their party were for abandoning altogether the Virginian scheme, and of remaining there. To quell the conspiracies and mutinies which arose out of these designs, and to punish the ringleaders of them, formed not the least arduous part of the difficulties which Gates had first to encounter. He kept constantly and faithfully in view the object for the attainment of which he had received his commission. Soon after the landing of his party, he had fitted out the long boat, with such supplies as could be obtained from the wreck; and dispatched her, with six sailors under the command of the master's mate, to Virginia, with letters for the Colony. Of this small vessel and her crew, no tidings were ever heard. Instructions had been given to the mate, in case of his safe arrival, that he should return 'the next new moone;' and, for this purpose, it is stated, in the simple and touching narrative from which our information is derived, that

'The Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and fiers prepared as beacons to haue directed and wafted him in, but two moones were wasted vpon the promontory, and [we] gaue many a long and wished looke round about the horizon from the north-east to the south-west, but in vaine, discouering nothing all the while, which way soeuer we turned our eye, but ayre and sea[48].'

The failure of their hopes from this quarter did but stimulate them to fresh efforts; and, whilst Somers was employed in making a survey of the islands, Gates,

[48] Strachy's Narrative, Purchas, iv. 1742.

at his suggestion, urged onward the building of a vessel about eighty tons' burden, large enough to transport the whole party to Virginia. It was constructed, in part, of the oak-beams and planks belonging to the vessel in which they had been wrecked, and the rest of cedar, a tree which grows in rich luxuriance upon the islands. After the labour of a few months, this vessel and another of smaller size were brought to a state of great forwardness; and, the mutinous and discontented members of their company, some of whom had fled away into the woods, having been, with the exception of two persons, brought back to a state of order and obedience, and the differences which had sprung up, for a brief season, between the leaders themselves, having been reconciled[49], preparations were made for their departure.

The ministrations of the Chaplain, during their detention in the islands.

This band of Englishmen had not been without the guidance and consolations of religion, during the period in which they remained thus cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the world. Mr. Bucke[50] has been

[49] 'Such a great difference fell amongst their commanders, that they liued asunder in this distresse, rather as meere strangers than distressed friends: but necessity so commanded, patience had the victory.' The relation of Jordan and others in Smith's History, 175.

[50] I was for a long time unable to obtain any information concerning this Clergyman, beyond that of his name, and those few particulars recorded of him in Purchas, which I have interwoven into my own narrative. At length I met with it in a Tract, published in London, in 1613, containing a Sermon of Alexander Whitaker, preached a short time before in Virginia, which will be noticed more fully in the latter part of this chapter. To this Sermon is prefixed an Epistle Dedicatorie, &c., to Lord Ure, by William Crashaw, whose name has been already brought to the

already mentioned as the Clergyman appointed to accompany the Colonists who had gone forth under the second Charter, and to labour in the same field of duty which had been opened by his excellent predecessor, Robert Hunt. He had, it will be remembered, embarked on board the same vessel with Gates and Somers; and frequent notices occur of him and of his services in the narrative of their adventures, as will be seen from the following extract, which I place before the reader, just as it appears in the original.

'During our time of abode vpon these Ilands, wee had daily euery Sunday two Sermons preached by our Minister, besides euery Morning and Evening at the ringing of a Bell, wee repayred all to publique Prayer, at what time the names of our whole Company were called by Bill, and such as were wanting, were duly punished [51].

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reader's notice; and in the Epistle I found many valuable notices of the first Virginia clergy. The following relates to Mr. Bucke: 'There is also (besides it may be some others that I know not of) Master Bucke, an able and painfull preacher; of whom I can say the lesse, because he was of Oxford, and unknowne to me; but of whom I have heard Sir Thomas Gates give a good and worthie testimonie; and he came to the Counsell and this imployment with the commendation of a Right Reverend Prelate (Dr. Ravis, Lord Bishop of London). But no matter though I say nothing of him; seeing, I doubt not he will shortly giue notice to the world what he is, and what the country of Virginia is, and what hope there is of that Plantation, for the seruice whereof he hazarded his dearest life; and the rather do I expect it from him, because hee is a man now of long experience, hauing been there so long a time, and was himself in person, in the danger and deliuerance at the Barmudaes.' I have searched, but hitherto in vain, for any work coming from the pen of Mr. Bucke, the publication of which is here said to have been looked for as probable.

[51] If the reader should be startled by this painful intermixture of secular discipline with the ordinances of Divine Worship, he should

'The contents (for the most part) of all our Preacher's Sermons, were especially of Thankfulnesse and Vnitie, &c.

'It pleased God also to giue vs opportunitie to performe all the other Offices and Rites of our Christian Profession in this Iland: as Marriage, for the sixe and twentieth of November, we had one of Sir George Summers his men, his cooke, named Thomas Powell, who married a maid seruant of one Mistris Horton, whose name was Elizabeth Persons; and vpon Christmasse Eue, as also once before, the first of October, our Minister preached a godly Sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion, at the partaking whereof our Governour was, and the greatest part of our Company: and the eleuenth of February, wee had the childe of one John Rofe christened, a daughter, to which Captain Newport and myselfe were witnesses, and the aforesaid Mistris Horton, and wee named it Bermuda: as also the fiue and twentieth of March, the wife of one Edward Eason, being delivered the weeke before of a boy, had him then christened, to which Captaine Newport and myselfe, and Master James Swift were godfathers, and we named it Bermudas. Likewise we buried five of our Company, and my goddaughter, &c.'

They reach Virginia.

The two vessels intended for the voyage to Virginia having been at length completed, the Governor gave to the former the appropriate name of 'The Deliverance,' and to the latter that of 'The Patience;' and, on the 10th of May, 1610, he and his party left the Bermudas. The tokens, left of their sojourn in those islands, shall be described in the words of the narrator who witnessed them:

'Before we quitted our old quarter, and dislodged to the fresh water with our pinnasse, our Gouernor set vp in Sir George Summers' garden a faire Mnemosynon in figure of a Crosse, made of some of the timber of our ruined shippe, which was scrued in with strong and great trunnels to a mightie Cedar, which grew in the middest of the said garden, and whose top and upper branches he

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remember the stringency of the laws which were, at that time, in force against Recusants and Separatists in England, and the nature of the penalties affixed to the violation of them.

caused to be lopped, that the violence of the winde and weather might have the lesse power ouer her.

'In the middest of the Crosse, our Gouernour fastened the picture of his Maiestie in a piece of Siluer of twelue pence, and on each side of the Crosse, he set an inscription, grauen in Copper, in the Latine and English to this purpose: In memory of our great deliuerance, both from a mightie storme and leake; wee haue set vp this to the honour of God. It is the spoyle of an English ship (of three hundred tunne) called the Sea Venture, bound with seven ships more, (from which the storme diuided vs) to Virginia, or Noua Britannia, in America[52].'

The miserable condition of JamesTown.

The voyagers reached Virginia in safety; and most dismal tidings there awaited them. Of the five hundred men, who had been left at James Town on the departure of Smith, a few months before, only threescore remained; the rest had been cut off by the Indians, or by sickness, and hunger. The survivors were in piteous plight, and had been compelled to live on roots, acorns, and berries, and the flesh and skins of horses. That period of dreadful suffering was emphatically called, and ever afterwards known, by the name of 'The starving time.'

Divine Service in the Church.

The rude cedar vessels which bore the new commanders of this unhappy Colony from the Bermudas, slowly and 'sadly plyed it up the river;' and, at length, on the 23rd of May, cast anchor before James Town, where their crews landed. The first place which Gates visited upon landing was the ruined and unfrequented Church. He caused its bell to be rung; and such as were able to crawl out of their miserable dwellings, repaired thither that they might join in the 'zealous and sorrowful prayer' of their faithful minister, who pleaded,

[52] Strachy's Narrative, Purchas, iv. 1746, &c.

in that solemn hour, for his afflicted brethren and himself, before the Lord their God. At the conclusion of Divine Service, the commission of Gates was read, and the seal of office given up to him by Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, who, notwithstanding his great weakness of body, had still retained the office of President, delegated to him upon Smith's departure. They then proceeded to view the fort, and found its palisadoes torn down, the ports open, the gates forced off the hinges, and the houses of those who had died rent up, and burnt for firewood; the people fearing to venture beyond the bounds of the block-house, lest they should be surprised by the Indians. Their only stock of provisions was that which had just been transported from the Bermudas, and which was not more than enough for those who had brought it. From the Indians, even if they could have succeeded in obtaining their good will, it was impossible to procure corn; for they never kept any larger store than sufficed for their immediate wants; and the seed time of the coming harvest was scarcely over. Last of all, their nets were well-nigh destroyed, so that the means of obtaining food by fishing was cut off; and, even if the nets could have been repaired, the supply of fish, once so abundant in the river, seemed to have entirely failed.

Resolution to abandon the Colony.

Driven, therefore, to such extremities, and finding that the food which remained, if limited only to the portion of two cakes a day to each person, could not hold out more than sixteen days, Gates resolved to abandon the settlement, and proceed to Newfoundland; where he expected to fall in with some English vessels, among which he might distribute the miserable remnant of

the Virginian Colony. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, at noon, he embarked the whole of his party; 'none dropping a tear,' it is said, 'because none had enjoyed one day of happiness.' He was the last of all to go on board; after which the vessels dropped down the river with the tide that same evening [53].

[53] Ib. 1748—1752.

CHAPTER VI.

VIRGINIA AND THE BERMUDAS UNDER JAMES I. CONTINUED.

A.D. 1610—1625.

Lord De la Warr's arrival.

On the following morning, whilst the vessels containing the poor fugitives from James Town lay at anchor, waiting for the return of the tide, a boat was descried making towards them, which proved to have been sent by Lord De la Warr, the Captain General of the Colony, to announce his arrival from England. Gates and his party returned forthwith to the forlorn abode which they had just quitted; and, on the 10th of June, which was Sunday, the squadron of Lord De la Warr, consisting of three ships, arrived off the fort, and he and his retinue landed, at the south gate of the palisado. The Lieutenant-Governor and the few remaining survivors were drawn up under arms in order to receive him; and, before he showed any token, or performed any act, of authority, he fell down upon his knees, and, in the presence of all the people, made a long and silent prayer to himself; after which he arose, and marching in procession to the town, passed on into the Church, where he heard a Sermon preached by the Clergyman,

whose name has been already mentioned, and whose services both at the Bermudas, and upon his arrival at James Town with Sir Thomas Gates, have been noticed[1]. At the conclusion of Divine Service, the commission, by which his Lordship was to act as Captain General of the Colony, was read; the seals of his deputies were surrendered to him; and he addressed to the assembly a few words of admonition and encouragement. Not the least cheering part of his address was the announcement made in it, that he had brought in his ships a store of provisions sufficient to supply four hundred men for twelve months.

His personal piety.

It is impossible not to be struck with the devotional feelings of the man, who thus entered upon the duties of Captain General of

[1] Dr. Hawks, in his 'Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Virginia,' p. 23, has confused, in his relation of this scene, two separate narratives; and applied the language which describes the services performed by Mr. Bucke, when he arrived with Sir George Gates at James Town, (Purchas, iv. 1749) to those which he afterwards performed, upon the arrival of Lord De la Warr (Purchas, iv. 1754). It would appear from his relation of the latter circumstance, as if Mr. Bucke had then, for the first time, come out in the capacity of chaplain to Lord De la Warr. But this, we know is not the fact. Other Clergymen, as will be seen hereafter, did accompany his lordship to Virginia upon that occasion; but they are not to be mistaken for one who had already been labouring, amid many perils and vicissitudes, for so many months before their arrival.

Bishop Wilberforce, in his History of the American Church, appears to have been misled in the same manner, and probably by Dr. Hawks's History. An examination of the original narratives in Purchas, will show that the description of the services of Mr. Bucke, which the Bishop says (p. 26), were 'first called for by Lord Delaware,' who came 'happily attended by' him as 'chaplain,' had reference, not to the occasion of Bucke's preaching at James Town upon Lord De la Warr's arrival, but to the period when he first came from the Bermudas with Sir Thomas Gates.

England's first Colony, in the darkest hour of her distress. The character which he bore among the nobles of his native land, and the tenor of his government abroad, as long as his delicate and enfeebled frame was able to retain the charge, forbid the thought that he was actuated by any other spirit than that of undisguised humility and faith, when he bowed down in prayer for guidance and for help, upon the land which called him Governor. He saw the danger which encompassed his countrymen and himself; he felt his own liability to err; he knew the power and compassion of that God, who could alone make him to dwell in safety; and, in faith and meekness of wisdom, implored the blessing of His protection, ere he ventured to take one step in discharge of the solemn trust committed to him.

Appointment of 'true preachers.'

It is evident, also, that the provision made by De la Warr, for spreading and preserving among the Colonists, through the exercise of the public means of grace, the same devout feelings by which he was himself sustained, was among the earliest acts of his government. Strachy, the author of the narrative to which I am indebted for the particulars already mentioned, and who, upon the chief Governor's arrival, was appointed to the office of Secretary and Recorder[2], speaks in the following terms upon this subject:

'The Captaine Generall hath giuen order for the repairing of [the Church], and at this instant many hands are about it. It is in length threescore foote, in breadth twenty-foure, and shall haue a Chancell in it of Cedar, and a Communion Table of the Blake Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire broad windowes, to

[2] Purchas, iv. 1754.

shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpet of the same, with a Font hewen hollow, like a Canoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as it be very light within, and the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall doth cause it to be kept passing sweete, and trimmed vp with divers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it: and in it euery Sunday wee have Sermons twice a day, and euery Thursday a Sermon, hauing true preachers, which take their weekly turnes; and euery morning at the ringing of a bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Euery Sunday, when the Lord Gouernour and Captaine Generall goeth to Church, hee is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, other Officers, and all the Gentlemen, with a guard of Holberdiers, in his Lordship's Liuery, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty both on each side, and behinde him: and being in the Church, his Lordship hath his seate in the Quier, in a greene veluet chaire, with a cloath, with a veluet cushion spread on a table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner.'

Order and industrious habits restored in the Colony.

The appointment of 'true preachers' mentioned in the above passage, whose duty it was to proclaim in turn the Word of God, and to conduct the weekly and daily services of the Church, implies that more than one Clergyman must have accompanied De la Warr to Virginia. And if, in the full and real sense of the term, they were 'true preachers,' it cannot be doubted but that they were among the efficient instruments in establishing that peace, and order, and watchful industry, which speedily distinguished the Colony under his administration[3].

[3] I must here correct a strange blunder committed by Miss Aikin, a writer usually very accurate. In her Memoirs of the Court of Charles I. i. 29, she speaks of Lord De la Warr, as 'a Catholic,' —meaning thereby, a member of the Church of Rome,—who 'had established' a plantation 'in Virginia.' Both statements are alike

Somers returns to the Bermudas, and dies there.

As soon as a Council and other Officers had been appointed, Somers was dispatched, at his own suggestion, to the Bermudas, accompanied by Argall in another vessel, for the purpose of procuring a further supply of provisions. Adverse winds first drove them out of their course; and, being afterwards separated from each other by dense fogs, Argall bore up again for James Town. Somers, after much difficulty, reached the Bermudas; and, feeling that his end was near, exhorted his men to perform with all diligence the duty entrusted to them, and to return as soon as possible to Virginia. He died soon afterwards, in the place which, in honour of his Christian name, is still called St. George's Town. The islands themselves also received the designation of his surname, and have ever since been called the Bermudas, or Somers Isles. The party who had been under his command, and of whom his nephew was now the leader, neglected his injunctions to return to Virginia; being, it is said, 'as men amazed, seeing the death of him who was euen as the life of them all.' Two of them remained in the islands, at the persuasion of a runaway criminal of their former crew[4]. The rest embalmed the body of their

untrue. Lord De la Warr governed, but did not establish, the Colony; and, so far from being in communion with Rome, the present history supplies abundant testimony of his zeal and devotedness as a member of the Church of England.

[4] The relation of Jordan and others in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 176. These three men are described as erecting 'their little commonwealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting corn,' &c. and afterwards, in the midst of their plenty, growing 'so proud and ambitious,' that, 'though but three forlorne men, more than three thousand miles from their natiue country, and but small hope euer to see it againe, they some-

brave leader; and, having set sail for England, buried him with military honors at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire[5]. Thus early ended the career of one who had borne a conspicuous part in the perils and difficulties which attended the settlement of the British power in the Western world.

Gates sent to England

Others were soon afterwards, from other causes, removed, for a time or wholly, from

times fell from words to blowes about meere trifles; and in one of which fights, one of them was bitten with his owne dog, as if the dumbe beast would reproue them of their folly. At last the two greater spirits must try it out in the field, but the third wisely stole away, affecting rather to liue amongst his enemies, than by being rid of them liue alone.' In this miserable state they existed full two years, when an English vessel arrived, which they were glad to conduct safely into their harbour.

[5] The Latin epitaph inscribed to his memory at Whitchurch, with its translation (Smith's History, p. 176), is here given, as furnishing a fair specimen of the fanciful and quaint conceits which occur in the writings of that day:

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæviet inde et hiems;
Et ver perpetuum nascetur, et Anglia læta
Decerpit flores Florida terra tuas.

In English thus:

Alas Virginia's summer so soon past,
Autumne succeeds, and stormy winter's blast;
Yet England's ioyfull spring with ioyfull showers,
O Florida, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

The above epitaph was not the only one which recorded the virtues of the gallant Somers; for, we read in Smith's History, p. 193, that in the year 1620, Butler, then governor of the Bermudas, caused a marble stone to be placed on the spot in which his heart was buried, and an inscription to be engraved thereon, the character of which may be determined from the two first lines;

In the yeere 1611
Noble Sir George Summers went hence to heauen.

to report progress.

the scene. A few weeks after the departure of Somers from Virginia, Gates had been sent to report to the Council in London an account of all that had happened. Whilst in England, he seems to have had many interviews with Crashaw, and to have given him that authentic information which has guided us in the present history.

'I have it (says Crashaw, in his 'Epistle Dedicatorie') from the faithful relation of that religious, valorous, and prudent gentleman, Sir Thomas Gates, then and yet our Lieftenant generall, who being himselfe in his owne person a doer of much, a sufferer of more, and an eye-witness of the whole, hath since related this and much more unto mee, face to face.'

Lotteries.

In order to obtain more quickly funds necessary for their expenses, the Council of the Virginia Company in London now ventured upon the establishment of Lotteries; a scheme for raising money, which, notwithstanding the sanction which it has received from other governments in Europe as well as from our own, is based upon a most vicious principle, and has been justly abolished, we trust for ever, by the British Legislature. Even in that early period of Lotteries, the evils which they produced soon called for the interference of Parliament. The sum brought into the Company's treasury, upon their commencement in 1615[6], amounted to £29,000, and this large profit was accompanied with the infliction of such great injury upon others, that the House of Commons complained of it, and an

[6] The licence for holding the Lottery by proclamation of the Council, upon application of the Company, was issued probably two or three years before; but the actual drawing of it does not seem to have taken place until 1615, see Smith's History of Virginia, pp. 117, 118, where many particulars connected with it are given.

Order of Council was passed in 1620, suspending their operation [7].

De la Warr compelled to return to England by sickness.

The departure of Gates from Virginia was soon followed by that of De la Warr himself, who, in the beginning of the year 1611, was compelled by sickness to leave his charge under the command of Captain Percy, and return to England. In the course of his voyage homewards, he is said to have put into the mouth of a large river, then called Chihohocki, but which, from that event, has ever since been named the Delaware [8].

Dale sent out to Virginia, with Rev. Alexander Whitaker.

Before his arrival, the Council in London had sent Sir Thomas Dale, with the title of High Marshal of Virginia, and a fresh supply of ships, men, and provisions, to James Town. He was accompanied by Alexander Whitaker, son of Dr. Whitaker, whose name has been already recorded, in connexion with Whitgift [9]. The faithfulness and zeal of this devoted minister of Christ; the prospects of temporal advantage which he left behind him at home; and the success with which his labours were attended abroad, will be in some measure learnt from the sequel. All that at present calls for notice is, the proof of a right spirit animating the hearts of our countrymen, which is afforded by the

[7] Chalmers, ut sup. 33. 41. He is not correct in saying that these Lotteries were the first ever drawn in England; for there is the record of one drawn at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1569, for the purpose of repairing the public harbours of the kingdom. Smith's Virginia, 117; Encycl. Brit. and Brande's Dictionary of Science, in loc.

[8] Appendix to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, drawn up by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, pp. 333 and 341.

[9] See pp. 135, 136, *ante*.

appointment of such a man to fulfil so arduous a mission.

Declaration of the Virginia Council.

Several publications are still extant, which prove the fidelity and care bestowed by the Virginia Council upon the proper execution of the work entrusted to them. Among these I may mention two Tracts, published in 1609, and entitled 'Nova Britannia,' and 'A Good Speed to Virginia.' But the most important is a Pamphlet, published at the same time, and containing a formal Declaration in the name of the Council, of the purposes intended by the establishment of the Colony, and of the measures which they had taken in its behalf. They review the various disasters which had already befallen the Colony, and ask:

'Who knows, whether He that disposeth of our hearts to so good beginnings, bee now pleased to trye our constancie and perseuerance, and to discerne betweene the ends of our desires, whether Pyety or Couetousnesse carryed us swifter? For if the first were the principall scope, hence ariseth nothing to infirme or make that impossible: But, as it falleth out in businesse of greatest consequence, sometime the noblest ends, vpon which wee are most intense, are furthest remoued from the first stepps made vnto them, and must by lesser and meaner bee approached; so Plantation of religion, being the maine and cheefe purpose, admitts many things of lesse and secondary consequence of necessity to bee done before it: for an error or miscarriage in one of which to desist or stagger, were to betray our principall end cowardly and faintly, and to drawe vpon ourselues iust scorne and reprehension.'

Again, in the call which they address to their countrymen for help, they bid them

'remember that what was at first but of conueniency, and for honor, is now become a case of necessity and piety: let them consider that they haue promised to aduenture, and not performed it, that they haue encouraged and exposed many of honorable birth, and which is of more consequence, 600 of our Brethren by our

common mother the Church, Christians of one faith and one Baptisme, to a miserable and vnevitable death. Let not any man flatter himselfe that it concernes not him: for hee that forsakes another, whom he may safely relieue, is as guilty of his death, as he that can swimme, and forsakes himself by refusing, is of his owne. Let every man looke inward, and disperse that clowd of auarice, which darkeneth his spirituall sight, and hee will finde there, that when hee shall appeare before the Tribunall of Heauen, it shall be questioned him what hee hath done? Hath hee fed and cloth'd the hungry and naked? It shall be required, what hee hath done for the aduancement of that Gospell which hath saued him; and for the releefe of his Maker's image, whome hee was bound to saue. O let there bee a vertuous emulation betweene us and the Church of Rome, in her owne Glory and Treasury of good workes! and let vs turne all our contentions vpon the common enemy of the Name of Christ. How farre hath she sent out her Apostles, and through how glorious dangers? How is it become a marke of Honor to her faith, to haue converted Nations, and an obloquie cast vpon vs, that wee hauing the better Vine, should haue worse dressers and husbanders of it? If Piety, Honor, Easinesse, Profit, nor Conscience cannot prouoake and excite (for to all these wee haue applyed our discourse), then let us turne from hearts of Stone and Iron, and pray vnto that mercifull and tender God, who is both easie and glad to be intreated, that it would please him to blesse and water these feeble beginnings, and that as he is wonderfull in all his workes, so to nourish this graine of seed, that it may spread till all people of the earth admire the greatnesse, and seeke the shades and fruite thereof; That by so faint and weake indeuors his great Councels may bee brought forth, and his secret purposes to light, to our endlesse comforts and the infinite Glorye of his Sacred Name. Amen.'

The conclusion of this Declaration is remarkable also for the distinct and unequivocal testimony which it gives to the desire of the Council, that none should go forth to their infant Colony, save those who were likely to uphold and adorn it by their blameless character. The reckless and abandoned men therefore who escaped thither, must have contrived it by fraudu-

lent representations. The recorded will of the Council was against them.

'To auoyde,' say they, 'both the scandall and perill of accepting idle and wicked persons, such as shame or feare compels into this action; and such as are the weedes and ranknesse of this land; who beeing the surfet of an able, healthy, and composed body, must neede bee the poyson of one so tender, feeble, and yet vnformed: And to divulge and declare to all men, what kinde of persons, as well for their religion and conuersations, as Faculties, Arts, and trades, we purpose to accept of, wee haue thought it conuenient to pronounce that for the first prouision, wee will receiue no man, that cannot bring or render some good testimony of his religion to God, and ciuill manners and behauiour to his neighbour with whom he hath liued; and for the second, wee haue set down in a Table annexed, the proportion and number we will entertain in euery necessary Arte, vpon proof and assurance that euery man shall bee able to performe that which hee doth vndertake; whereby such as are requisite to vs, may haue knowledge and preparation to offer themselues, and wee shall bee ready to giue honest entertainment and content, and to recompense with extraordinary reward euery fit and industrious person, respectiuely to his paines and quality [10].'

The particulars of this Table are given below; and the reader will not fail to observe, that, foremost among those whom the Council desired to settle in the Colony, were 'foure honest and learned Ministers [11].'

[10] Declaration, &c. 15. 22. 25.

[11] The Table of such as are required in their Plantation:

Foure honest and learned Ministers.
2 Surgeons.
2 Druggists.
10 Iron men for the Furnace and Hammer.
2 Armorers.
2 Gun-founders.
6 Blacksmiths.
10 Sawyers.
6 Carpenters.
6 Shipwrights.
6 Gardeners.
4 Turners.
4 Brickmakers.
2 Tilers.
10 Fishermen.
6 Fowlers.
4 Sturgeon-dressers, and preseruers of the Caueary.
2 Salt-makers.
6 Coopers.

Gates returns to Virginia, with Rev. Mr. Glover.

Alexander Whitaker was one of these. Another was Glover, who accompanied Gates upon his second return to Virginia. Crashaw speaks of both of them, in his Epistle Dedicatorie, as having gone 'by' his 'knowledge, but not by' his 'procurement. I testifie it for a truth,' are his words, 'they moued me that they might go; not I them, that they would go.' He adds, with respect to Glover, that he was 'an approued Preacher in Bedford and Huntingdonshire, a graduate of Cambridge, reuerenced and respected,' in easy circumstances, and already somewhat advanced in years. It was scarcely to be expected that an aged man should have been found eager to brave the dangers of an unsettled Colony; but we learn from Crashaw that Glover had felt an earnest desire to go to Virginia; and, having made it known 'to a Reuerend Preacher in Huntingdon, Master Beard,'—the preceptor, probably, of Oliver Cromwell,—had been summoned to London, where he was 'so well liked of the Counsell,' that 'he went away with Gates, in June, 1611.' But the course, which he essayed to run, was soon finished. To quote again the words of Crashaw:

'He endured not the sea sicknesse of the countrey, so well as younger and stronger bodies; and so, after zealous and faithfull performance of his ministeriall dutie, whilest he was able, he gave

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2 Coller-makers for draught.
2 Plow-wrights.
4 Rope-makers.
6 Vine-dressers.
2 Presse-makers.
2 Ioyners.
2 Sope-ash makers.
4 Pitch-boylers.
2 Minerall-men.
2 Planters of sugar-cane.
2 Silke-dressers.
2 Pearle-drillers.
2 Bakers.
2 Brewers.
2 Colliers.

his soule to Christ Jesus (under whose banner he went to fight; and for whose glorious name's sake he undertooke the danger), more worthy to be accounted a true Confessor of Christ, than hundreds that are canonized in the Pope's Martyrologie.'

Henrico and New Bermudas built.

Soon after the arrival of Gates at James Town, it was agreed upon between him and Dale that the latter should set out, with three hundred and fifty chosen men, and build a second town, about seventy miles higher up the river. A spot of ground accordingly was soon marked out, and enclosed; and a town, consisting of three streets of well-framed houses, was founded, and called Henrico, in honour of Henry, Prince of Wales, who was then living. A Church was also erected, which, although intended only for temporary use, is said to have been a handsome structure; and the foundation was laid, at the same time, of another to be built of brick.

The establishment of this town was speedily followed by that of a third, which Dale founded, about five miles from Henrico, and to which he gave the name of the New Bermudas. He divided the land adjoining this last settlement into Hundreds, each of which was designated by its proper title [12].

Dale afterwards entrusted with the sole command of the Colony.

Dale, under whose guidance this extension of the Virginian Colony was made, was a man of no ordinary character. Courageous, patient, and persevering, he was ever mindful of the great end to which all earthly thoughts and labours ought to be directed; and his desire to attain that end was sincere and ardent. The sole command of the Colony again devolved upon him, upon the return of Gates to England,

[12] Smith's Virginia, 111; Purchas, iv. 1768.

in 1614; and a letter from Dale to a friend in London is still extant, which clearly shows the character of his mind. His friend and he had evidently regarded and spoken of the enterprise in which he was engaged, as a part of that 'religious warfare,' to which in Baptism he had been pledged; and the prize of which was the advancement of God's glory. In this warfare, his friend had always hitherto encouraged him to persevere; but, owing to the non-performance of promises made by certain parties at home, had, in his last letter, advised him to desist, especially as the time for which he had undertaken to labour had expired. The death also of Prince Henry, in 1612, furnished, it was said, another reason for returning home. But to these representations Dale answered, that he sought to discharge the duties allotted to him with all alacrity, not knowing what recompence he was to expect, or when 'from Him in whose Vineyard' he laboured, and 'whose Church with greedy appetite' he desired 'to erect.' He acknowledged that Prince Henry, whom he called his 'glorious Master,' was gone,—a master, who 'would haue enamelled with his fauours the labours which were undertaken for God's cause,'—and that 'the whole frame of this business,' seemed fallen 'into his grave.' Nevertheless, the value which he set upon the work entrusted to his hands, and the necessity of personal superintendence which it required, constrained him to abide patiently all the dangers and difficulties which then encompassed him about. And, having described the circumstances which had recently happened under his government,—to one of which the reader's attention will soon be called,—he added, in

His character.

His Letter.

reference to the divisions and jealousies, which he saw were weakening the cause at home,

'Oh, why should so many princes and noblemen ingage themselves, and thereby intermeddling herein, haue caused a number of soules to transport themselves, and be transported hither? Why should they (I say) relinquish this so glorious an action? for if their end be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere; if, otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant. Howsoeuer they stand affected, here is enough to content them, let their ends be either for God or Mammon. These things hauing animated me to stay for a little season, to leaue those I am tied in conscience to return unto, to leaue the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweete society of my friends and acquaintance with all mundall delights, and reside here with much turmoile, which, I will constantly doe, rather than see God's glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore people I have the charge of, ruined. And so I beseech you to answer for me, if you heare me taxed for my staying, as some may justly doe; and that these are my chiefe motiues, God I take to witnesse. Remember me, and the cause I haue in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that doe sincerely love you and yours, and will euer rest in all offices of a friend to do you seruice[13].'

Its sentiments confirmed by Lord Bacon.

The terms of earnest remonstrance in which Dale here condemns the design of abandoning the Colony, received soon afterwards signal confirmation from the testimony of Lord Bacon. Thus, at the end of his Essay 'Of Plantations,' he writes,

'It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.'

The first edition of Bacon's Essays was published as early as 1597; but it does not appear that the Essay

[13] Purchas, iv. 1768—1770; Stith's Virginia, 123.

'Of Plantations' was written until the last edition, which was completed in 1625[14]. Certain allusions also in the Essay to points of mismanagement in Virginia, prove it to have been written some time after the establishment of the Colony there. The dictum of the philosopher, therefore, has, in this instance, the authority of experience.

The power of exercising martial law committed to Dale.

A power had been delegated to Dale, at an early period of his government of Virginia, which greatly militated against the proper character and influence of the Church in that province; namely, that of establishing, as an universal rule, the exercise of martial law which, under the Charter, had been limited to cases of rebellion or mutiny. The duties of each department in the Colony were, henceforth, to be regulated by the same summary process; and, although in Dale's hands, the possession of such terrible power created no present mischief, it was impossible that evil should not result from that which was in itself an evil. The Book of Articles and Laws, drawn up for his guidance in this matter, was sent to him by the Treasurer, but without the sanction, it is said, of the Council and Company in England. Their sanction may not have been formally given; but it can hardly be supposed that the measure had not their concurrence. For the Book was drawn up by Strachey, Secretary of the Colony, to whose narration of the events of which he was an eye-witness, such frequent reference has been made in this chapter; and it is stated by him to consist of laws, which had been first established by Gates, in 1610; which, in the same year, had been 'exemplified and

[14] Preface to Basil Montagu's edition of Bacon's Works, i. vi.—xvi.

approved' by De la Warr; and again 'exemplified and enlarged' by Dale, in 1611. They had been copied, for the most part, from the Laws observed during the wars in the Low Countries, in which Dale had himself served with high distinction.

Robertson's misstatement of Bacon's opinion respecting it.

A statement with reference to this subject occurs in Robertson's History of America, which I think incorrect. He says of the establishment of martial law at this period in Virginia, that, 'however unconstitutional or oppressive this may appear, it was adopted by the advice of Sir Francis Bacon, the most enlightened philosopher, and one of the most eminent lawyers of the age[15].' I cannot find any ground for such an unqualified statement. Robertson refers to Bacon's Essay on Plantations, as his authority, but the only passage in that Essay which relates to the matter is as follows:

'For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his services, before their eyes.'

All that is here recommended is, that, in so peculiar a case as that of an infant Colony, the governor should have commission to exercise martial laws, if present necessity should call for it; and even then, it is stated, that the power should be '*with some limitation;*'—a recommendation, obviously very different from that which advised the constant and uniform adoption of them. It is important also to observe the fact noticed in the preceding page, that Bacon's Essay on Plantations

[15] Robertson's Works, xi. 201.

did not appear until the last Edition in 1625, the year before his death; and, whatsoever interpretation be made of the passage which occurs therein, his advice could have had no influence upon a course of action adopted long before its publication.

Its tyrannical enactments.

That part of the 'Laws Martial,' which relates only to the observance of military discipline, does not, of course, come under our consideration. We are concerned only with those, which bore more directly upon the civil and religious interests of the Colony; and a review of a few of them will be sufficient. Thus, 'to speak impiously or maliciously against the Holy and blessed Trinitie, or against the knowne Articles of the Christian faith,' or to 'do any act that may tend to the derision or despight of God's Holy Word,' was constituted an offence punishable by death. To utter blasphemy or 'unlawfull oathes' exposed the criminal to 'haue a bodkin thrust through his tongue;' and a repetition of the offence was to bring him 'to a martial court, and there receive censure of death.' To behave irreverently 'unto any Preacher or Minister' of God's Word, was a crime, for which the offender was to be 'openly whipt three times, and to ask publike forgiueness in the assembly three severall Saboth daies.' Absence from Divine Service 'upon the working daies,' or 'the Saboth,' was to be visited, the first time, by a forfeiture of the day's or week's allowance; the second, by whipping; and the third, by condemnation 'to the Gallies for six moneths,' or even death. If any persons, upon arriving in the Colony, should refuse to repair to the Minister to give up an account of their faith and religion, they were, for the first refusal, to be whipt once; for the second, to be whipt twice, and

made 'to acknowledge their fault upon the Saboth day in the assembly of the congregation;' and, for the third, to be whipt every day until they had made acknowledgment, and asked forgiveness for the same. Lastly, 'euery Minister or Preacher' was to read 'euery Saboth day before catechising,' all these lawes and ordinances, which were thirty-seven in number, 'publikly in the assembly of the congregation upon paine of his entertainment checkt for that weeke [16].'

Dale abstains from enforcing it in all its extent.

It must be evident, that to attempt to build up any good work upon so miserable a foundation as this, would utterly fail, as it deserved to do. It is not by the lash, or fine, or imprisonment, or death, that truth can be enforced. The loveliness of her features is destroyed, and the majesty of her high prerogatives trampled under foot, when tyranny, such as this, dares to wait upon her. The very cruelty of such enactments was, in fact, a barrier against the execution of them. Dale, no doubt, saw that it was impracticable to carry them into effect; and that to urge the observance of them, would only be to hold out a premium for the outbreak of that fierce passion, which would soon sweep away all authority before it. But we have seen that higher motives, than any which mere expediency could suggest, influenced him; and, whilst he availed himself of the power of the 'Lawes Martiall,' strictly so called, to repress the plots and insurrections which endangered the welfare of the Colony [17], he carefully abstained from laying upon the people those burdens, which were created by the 'Lawes Politique' of the

[16] Lawes Divine, &c. pp. 3—19.

[17] Hamor's 'Notes of Virginian Affaires,' in Purchas, iv. 1767.

same code. That part of it may be said to have remained, under his administration, a dead letter. All that was salutary, and wise, and of good report, he strenuously upheld; but the unjust and cruel penalties, imposed by these Articles, he would not exact.

Whitaker, a most valuable fellow-labourer with Dale.

Among the faithful and true-hearted men who cheered and assisted Dale in his arduous labours, the most prominent was Alexander Whitaker, who accompanied him, when he first left England for Virginia. Whitaker was, at that time, a graduate of five or six years' standing of Cambridge, 'seated,' to use the words of Crashaw,

His character.

'in the North Countrey, where he was well approued by the greatest, and beloued of his people, and had competent allowance to his good liking, and was in as good possibility of better liuing as any of his time; he had also meanes of his owne left him by his parents: all which notwithstanding, he merely of himselfe, for ought I know, entertained a purpose of going to Virginia to assist that Christian Plantation in the function of a Preacher of the Gospell. And hauing after many distractions and combates with himselfe (as he told me) settled his resolution, that God called him thither, and therefore he would goe; he accordingly made it good, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasions of many of his nearest friends, and the great discouragements which he daily heard of, touching the businesse and countrey itselfe: and arrived there with Sir Thomas Dale, by a very speedy and safe passage (scarce of eight weekes long) in May, 1611, from whence he hath since then written many comfortable letters both to the Counsell and Committee and his private friends.'

Speaking of Whitaker, in another part of his Epistle, Crashaw again says, that,

'he without any persuasion (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leaue his warme nest[18]; and, to the wonder of his kin-

[18] This phrase is a peculiar one; and, as it occurs also in the Prayer which was ordered to be 'duly said Morning and Evening

dred, and amazement of them that knew him, undertooke this hard, but in my judgment, heroicall resolution to go to Virginia, and helpe to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles. Men may muse at it,' he adds, 'some may laugh, and others wonder at it. But will you know the reason? God will be glorified in his owne workes, and what he hath determined to do, hee will finde means to bring to passe; for the perfecting therefore of this blessed worke, he hath stirred up able and worthie men to undertake the manning and managing of it. Magistracie and Ministery are the strength and sinewes; nay, the very life and being of a Christian body politique. Therefore seeing without these, all emptying of purses heere, and venturing of persons thither, is to no purpose, God in his owne wisdome prouided, and in his mercie prouoked, godly and able men to furnish both these functions; and such as might at home have lived in places of honour and command, or in fashion competent and conuenient to their conditions.'

The value of Crashaw's testimony, in this instance, is increased by learning that Lord Ure, to whom the Epistle Dedicatorie is addressed, was personally acquainted with Whitaker:

'Your Lordship (says Crashaw, towards the conclusion) knew Master Whitaker in the North, and by your peculiar knowledge of the man, and the place where hee liued, can be an honorable witnesse with mee, and an euidence beyond all exception, to a good part of what I have here said.'

Whitaker proceeded with Dale up James River, and assisted him in laying the foundation of Henrico. In that second settlement of the English, as in the

upon the Court of Guard, either by the Captaine of the watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers,' I am disposed to think that the Prayer was composed, at least in part, by Crashaw himself. Other passages, also, in Crashaw's writings go to prove the same point. The Prayer is too long to be subjoined in this place; but, as it presents many points of interest, and is, for the most part, expressed in language faithful and eloquent, I have given it entire in the Appendix to this Volume, No. I.

first, a Church was among the earliest buildings raised; and the revered and beloved name of Robert Hunt is not less closely associated with the one, than is the name of Whitaker with the other. The 'faire framed Parsonage impaled for Master Whitaker,' and the 'hundred acres called Rocke hall,' set apart for the future support of those who should preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of that district, are spoken of in the narrative of the first planting of Henrico; and, in another history of Virginia, he is described as 'Minister of Bermuda Hundred[19],' the district before mentioned, five miles from it. The period for which Whitaker had promised, in the first instance, to go out and labour, was three years; but, at the expiration of them, he was still resolute and anxious, as we learn from his own testimony and that of Crashaw, to continue his ministrations in the Colony.

His Sermon.

Upon the departure of Gates for England, in 1614, and the consequent return of Dale to James Town, the chief seat of government, Whitaker still accompanied him. He now sent home to England for publication a Sermon which he had lately preached, entitled 'Good Newes from Virginia;' and Crashaw, in his Epistle Dedicatorie, thus describes it, and the labours of its author:

'Master Whitaker hath put himself into this dangerous voiage, where now he diligently preacheth and catechizeth; and thereby, and by other Ministerial duties, publike and private (and otherwise also, for he is otherwaies qualified), he performes daily and diligent seruice, acceptable to God, and comfortable to our people, ouer whom hee is Pastor. And from whence, as a token of his loue and dutie to the Counsell and Aduenturers, and as a testimonie of the good liking he conceiues of the Countrey (by these almost two

[19] Smith's Virginia, 111; Stith's Virginia, 136.

years' experience) he hath sent us this plaine, but pithie and godly exhortation, interlaced with narrations of many particulars, touching the Countrey, climate, and commodities worthie to bee knowne of all, especially comming from one of his place and profession, and of so good experience in the matter he writes of.'

The text of Whitaker's Sermon is from Ecclesiastes xi. 1, "Cast thy bread upon the waters; for thou shalt find it after many days." He first explains the duty of liberality, as therein enforced, and divides the consideration of the subject into five parts; and, under the last head,—which relates to the parties towards whom liberality ought to be shown,—his words are:

'This is the doctrine, and I beseech God to stirre up your minds to the practise of liberalitie in all things towards all men. And remember the poore estate of the ignorant inhabitants of Virginia. Cast forth your almes, my brethren of England, and extend your liberalitie in these charitable workes, which God hath called you to performe. Let not the seruants of superstition, that thinke to merit by their good works (as they terme them), goe beyond us in well doing; neither let them be able to open their mouths against us, and to condemne the religion of our Protestation for want of charitable deeds. It may bee some men will say the work is great, I am not able to relieue it. I answer the work is such, and such order is now taken, that those that cannot giue much, may be liberal in a little. Those that cannot help in monies by reason of their pouerty, may venture their persons hither, and heere not only serue God, but helpe also these poore Indians, and build a sure foundation for themselves; but, if you can do neither of these, then send your earnest prayers to God for the prosperity of this worke.

'Wherefore, my brethren,' he adds, a little further on, 'put on the bowels of compassion, and let the lamentable estate of these miserable enter in your consideration. One God created us; they haue reasonable soules and intellectual faculties as well as wee; we all haue Adam for our common parent; yea, by nature the condition of us both is all one, the servants of sinne and slaves of the divell. Oh remember, I beseech you, what was the state of Eng-

land before the Gospell was preached in our countrey! How much better were we then, and concerning our soules health, than these now are? Let the word of the Lord sound out, that it may be heard in these parts; and let your faith which is toward God spread itself abroad, and shew forth the charitable fruits of it in these barren parts of the world: "and let him know that he which hath converted a sinner from going astray out of his way, shall save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sinnes."'

Only one more passage shall be quoted, which is as follows:

'Shall our nation, hitherto famous for noble attempts and the honourable finishing of what they haue undertaken, be now taxed for inconstancie, and blamed by the enemies of our Protestation for uncharitablenesse? Yea, shall we be a scorne among princes, and a laughing-stocke among our neighbour nations, for basely leauing what we honourably began; yea, for beginning a Discoverie, whose riches other men shall gather, so soon as wee haue forsaken it? Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen, you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the Plantation is God's, and the reward your Countries. Wherefore aime not at your present priuat gaine; but let the glory of God, whose Kingdome you now plant, and good of your countrey, whose wealth you seeke, so farre prevaile with you, that you respect not a present returne of gaine for this yeare or two; but that you would more liberally supplie for a little space, this your Christian worke, which you so charitably began. As for those spirits of slander, whom the Divell hath stirred up to speak evill of this good land, and to weaken the hands of our brethren; lest they should goe forward and pull Satan out of his dominions:—let them take heed, lest the punishment of Shammua and his nine companions, the faithlesse searchers of the Land of Canaan, do befall them, and that they never liue to taste of the commodities of this good Land[20].'

This Sermon, were there room to quote the expository portions of it, amply bears out the high character ascribed to Whitaker; and, taken in conjunction with the other testimonies of his patient and arduous

[20] Whitaker's Sermon, 18. 24. 33.

ministry, well justifies the glowing language of thankfulness with which Crashaw bears witness to the blessing conferred upon the Colony by him and by his fellow-labourers. I subjoin its concluding passage:

'So that now we see to our comfort, the God of heauen found us out, and made us readie to our hands, able and fit men for the ministeriall function in this Plantation; all of them Graduates, allowed preachers, single men, hauing no Pastorall cures, nor charge of children; and, as it were, every way fitted for that worke. And because God would more grace this businesse, and honor his owne worke, he prouided us such men as wanted neither liuing, nor libertie of preaching at home: more in my judgment haue they to answer for, who wanting both, will not only not go themselves, but disparage and depraue them that go. Hereafter, when all is settled in peace and plentie, what marvell, if many and greater than they be willing to goe? But, in the infancie of this Plantation, to put their liues into their hands, and, under the assurance of so many dangers and difficulties, to deuote themselues unto it, was certainly a holy and heroicall resolution, and proceeded undoubtedly from the blessed spirit of Christ Jesus, who "for this cause appeared that he might dissolve the works of the divell." And though Satan visibly and palpably raignes there, more than in any other knowne place of the world: yet be of courage, blessed brethren, "God will treade Satan under your feet shortly;" and the ages to come will eternize your names as the Apostles of Virginia.'

Pocahuntas taken prisoner by the English.

The foremost of these 'Apostles of Virginia,' was now to be associated with Dale in a work, which is related by that officer in the letter already cited, and to which I have promised to call the reader's attention, namely, the conversion to the Christian faith of Pocahuntas, daughter of Powhatan. The name of this Indian princess is already known to the reader. About five years before, when she was only twelve years old, it will be remembered that she had seen the cruelties inflicted upon Captain Smith, then a prisoner in her father's hands.

And, when he was on the point of being put to death, had rushed forward, and, with her entreaties, had saved his life. At later periods, also, she had, once and again, risked her own safety, that she might bring succour to the English in their distress; warning them to flee from dangers of which they were not aware; and coming, in the darkness and stillness of night, to allay their hunger with food which she had procured. It was a cruel and shameful act to ensnare and take captive one who had rendered such signal services as these; and, although in the end overruled for good, the contrivers of the scheme must bear the burden of its reproach. During the time of Gates's government, in 1612, Argall, desirous to regain from Powhatan the prisoners, and arms, and working implements, of which at various times he had gained possession, ascended the river in a vessel of which he was commander; and, by a series of stratagems which it is needless here to detail, succeeded in prevailing upon Pocahuntas to come on board, and there made her prisoner.

The object which he had in view, namely, the surrender by Powhatan of the men and property in his possession, as the price of his daughter's freedom, was for a long time delayed. But, in the following year, Dale appeared, accompanied by Pocahuntas, and a force strong enough to attack the natives, if necessary, and insisted upon the restitution of the English prisoners and their property. At first, the natives tried to baffle him, sometimes by fraud, and at others by open violence; but, finding resistance useless, and the sons of the Indian king, who had been permitted to visit their sister, having brought back a favourable report of the kindness with which she was treated, it

was agreed to make peace, upon the terms announced by the English commander.

Baptized by the name of Rebecca.

Pocahuntas, however, returned no more to her own people. During the time which had already elapsed since her capture, Dale and Whitaker had been careful to bring her to the knowledge of the Christian faith. She showed a great capacity, as well as an earnest desire for instruction; and, after the lapse of some months, made, at her own request, a public renunciation of the idolatry of her country, and was baptized, receiving the name of Rebecca. An attachment also had sprung up between her and an Englishman named John Rolfe, who is described as 'an honest gentleman, and of good behaviour;' and, information of this circumstance having been communicated, with Dale's approval, to her father Powhatan, that king sent an aged uncle of hers, Opachisco, and two of his sons, that they might bear the tidings of his consent to the marriage, and do what was required in his behalf for the confirmation of it. The marriage was celebrated April 1, 1613; and Dale, speaking of it in the letter which has been before cited, says:

Married to John Rolfe.

'She liues ciuilly and louingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will goe into England with mee; and, were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent[21].'

Whitaker speaks in like terms of the marriage, in a letter written to a cousin of his, who was a Clergyman in London, and,—adding with gratitude an eulogy upon Dale, whom he calls their 'religious and valiant

[21] Smith's Virginia, 112; Stith, 129.

Gouernour,'—vindicates his character from the aspersions which some of the Colonists had tried to cast upon it. The letter closes with this remarkable passage:

'I maruaile much that any men of honest life should feare the sword of the Magistrate, which is unsheathed only in their defence. But I much more muse, that so few of our English Ministers that were so hot against the Surplis and subscription, come hither where neither are spoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their tallents, or keepe themselues at home for fear of loosing a few pleasures? Be there not any amongst them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to the gaine of his talent. But you, my cosen, hold fast that which you haue, and I, though my promise of three yeeres seruice to my Countrey be expired, will abide in my vocation here until I be lawfully called from hence. And so betaking us all unto the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, I rest for euer[22].'

Proceeds to England with her husband.

Pocahuntas accompanied her husband and Dale to England, when that officer, having placed the affairs of the Colony in good order, and left them under the charge of Yeardley, deputy-governor, returned home in 1616. They landed at Plymouth, on the 12th of June in that year; and great interest was felt and shown towards her who came, under such circumstances, a stranger to these shores. Among the first who welcomed her was Smith, whose life, in the days of her childhood, she had saved at the hazard of her own; and whose wants, and the wants of his countrymen, she had so often relieved. He was eager to introduce her to the notice of the consort of King James; and the letter in which he commends her to

Her reception by Captain Smith.

[22] Purchas, iv. 1770.

the favour of her Majesty, and relates the services she had rendered to himself and the Colony under his command, is not among the least striking evidences which remain to tell us of the honest and hearty zeal of that extraordinary man. He was himself on the point of embarking at that time upon a voyage to New England, and could not stay to render to Pocahuntas the service which she required, and so well deserved. He was the more desirous, therefore, that she should receive a generous reception from those who were in authority. There is something very touching in the simple and affectionate spirit with which she received the man who had exercised such wonderful influence upon her life. At first, Smith relates, she seemed disturbed, and unwilling to express her thoughts; but, not long afterwards, she began to speak, and called him 'Father,'—the same title, she said, by which he had addressed her own father, Powhatan, when Smith had been a stranger in his land. And, when Smith hesitated to receive such a title from one who was a King's daughter, she answered;

'Were you not afraid to come into my father's countrie, and cause feare in him and all his people (but mee), and feare you here that I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will be for euer and euer your countrieman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Vitamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your countriemen will lie much [23].'

[23] Smith's Virginia, 121. Of the Indian mentioned in the above letter, Smith further says, that he was 'one of Powhatan's Councell, being amongst them held an understanding fellow; the king purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and inform him well what wee were and our state. Arriving at Plimoth, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches

And by King James and his Queen.

Upon the arrival of Pocahuntas in London, she was graciously received by James and his Queen. The Governor also of Virginia, Lord De la Warr, and his Countess, rejoiced to welcome her. The Treasurer and Company of Virginia voted a suitable provision for herself and for her child; and Purchas reports of her, that she

'did not onely accustome herselfe to ciuilitie, but still carried herselfe as the daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected, not onely by the Company, which allowed provision for herselfe and her sonne, but of diuers particular persons of honor, in their hopefull zeal by her to aduance Christianitie.'

Among these, Purchas names especially the then Bishop of London, Dr. King.

Many and great advantages, it might have been hoped, would have followed the return of Pocahuntas to Virginia, had she been permitted to show to her countrymen the reality of that truth which had guided and refreshed her own spirit. But it was the will of God that she should not return thither. Her husband was appointed Secretary and Recorder General of Virginia; and, when she was on the point of embarking

hee did think to haue kept the number of all the men he could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske: Comming to London, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance where many were desirous to heare and see his behauiour, hee told me Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of: Concerning God, I told him the best I could; the King I hearde he had seene, and the rest he should see when he would; he denied euer to haue seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly, You gaue Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe, but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white dog.'

with him for her native land, in the beginning of the year 1616-7, she died. In the quaint, but emphatic, language of Purchas,

'She came at Grauesend to her end and graue, hauing giuen great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie, as the first fruits of Virginian conuersion, leaving here a godly memory, and the hopes of her resurrection, her soule aspiring to see and enioy presently in heaven, what here shee had ioyed to heare and beleeue of her beloued Sauiour [24].'

Relations between the English and the French and Dutch settlements in North America.

The government of Dale was marked by other events too important to be overlooked, the relation of which has been purposely deferred, in order that it might not interrupt the course of the above narrative; namely, the proceedings of the English towards the French and Dutch settlements which were now forming in some of the adjacent provinces.

As early as the year 1524, Verazzano, a Florentine, had been sent forth by the French monarch, Francis I., for the purpose of exploring those regions; and, from the country now called Carolina, along the whole coast of the great American continent, as far as fifty degrees of north latitude, that bold and persevering mariner extended his search, and called the land New France. In 1534, Jaques Cartier was commissioned by the same King, to survey accurately the extensive

[24] Purchas, iv. 1774; Stith, 146. I have been favoured by the Rev. Robert Joynes, the present Rector of Gravesend, with a facsimile copy of the entry of her death in the Register of that Parish: '1616, March, 21. Rebecca Rolfe, wyffe of Thomas Rolfe, gent. a Virginia lady borne was buried in ye Chauncell.' For the notice of her descendants, see p. 249, *post*.

gulf which now bears the name of St. Lawrence[25]; and, four years afterwards, an expedition was fitted out with the view of planting a French settlement upon its coast. The troubles of France, during the remainder of the 16th century, prevented the work of colonization from making any progress. But, upon their termination, it soon advanced. Thus, in 1598, we find Henry IV. issuing his commission to the Marquis de la Roche to plant a settlement in the same quarter; and, although the enterprise consequent upon that commission failed, another was granted by the same king to De Monts, to be governor of all that part of America, which lies between the 40th and 46th degrees of north latitude; and also to establish a French Colony in the province of Acadie, now Nova Scotia[26]. It will be remembered that these limits include a large portion of the territory assigned, in 1606, by King James I. to the Virginia Company; and, since the language of the English Charter professed only to deal with such countries as were not, at that time, 'actually possessed by any Christian prince or people,' his assignment was, upon the face of it, so

[25] Hakluyt, iii. 250—364; Purchas, iv. 1603—1605. In Sharon Turner's History of England, ix. 475—477, is given a curious and interesting paper, which that indefatigable historian has derived from the collection of State Letters, made by Ribieres in 1666, and addressed by him to Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV.; viz. a 'Memoir of the Men and Provisions necessary for the Vessels which the King intends to send into Canada.' The squadron was to consist of six vessels; and among the persons required to go on board were 'six Churchmen, with all things necessary for Divine Service.' I notice this, as one of the many evidences to be found of the care displayed by Roman Catholic rulers, for the efficient propagation of their faith and worship in foreign lands.

[26] Purchas, iv. 1619.

far invalid. It has been argued, indeed, by some writers, that the title of the English to the country rested upon the original commission which Henry VII. had granted to the Cabots, and which had never been superseded. But we have seen that the terms of this commission were not carried into effect by those on whom it was conferred; and, that, although the English flag, under the guidance of the Cabots, was the first ensign of European power which ever visited the shores of North America, it was no where set up by them as a token of permanent sovereignty in the New World. Moreover, no reference is to be found in the Patents of Elizabeth or James, to any inchoate right possessed, or claimed to be possessed, by the British Crown in those regions. And yet, some such reference must have been made, if the enterprise, encouraged by Henry VII., had led to any definite results. It must be admitted, therefore, that the limits, assigned under the English Charter of 1606, embraced a large portion of the territory already claimed by the French, under their charter of 1603. And not only did the French precede us in putting forth formally their pretensions to that country; they preceded us, likewise, in the actual possession of a part of it. So active were they in the prosecution of their designs, that, in 1605, they settled the town of Port Royal, in Acadie[27]; and, in 1608,—the year after that which had witnessed the building of James Town by the English, amid the savannahs of Virginia,—they laid the foun-

[27] It is situated in lat. 44° 47′, and therefore just within the prescribed limits of the English Charter, and is now called Annapolis, from its having been ceded by the French to this country, during the reign of Queen Anne. The capital of Maryland is also called Annapolis.

dations of the city of Quebec, upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. From the commencement, indeed, of the 17th century, the attention of the French had been directed to that quarter, by the reports of their countryman, the celebrated navigator, Champlain[28]. From Acadie and Canada, they gradually extended their settlements to that province which is now known by the name of Maine, in the United States; and every where the efforts of the French Seigneurs were supported by the zeal and piety of laborious Jesuits.

But the French were not the only Europeans who, at this time, were seeking habitations in the New World. The Dutch East India Company had sent out thither, in 1609, at his own solicitation, Henry Hudson, who was, probably, by birth a British subject, and had, certainly, until that period, been always in the employment of British merchants. The main object of Hudson's search was a northern passage to the East Indies; and, having been baffled in his attempts to penetrate the way by the north-east, he turned to the opposite quarter, in the hope of finding some channel which might connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean. In the prosecution of this purpose, he discovered, and entered into, one of the mouths of the majestic river which now bears his name. The report which he made to the Dutch of his discovery induced them to claim possession of the country: and, in 1610, they fitted out a vessel for the purpose of opening a trade with it; and erected some stations on Manhattan island, on the southern extremity of which the city of New York is now built.

Tidings of these proceedings on the part of the

[28] Purchas, iv. 1605—1645.

French and Dutch soon reached the ears of the English in Virginia. And, deeming them encroachments upon the English territory, Argall, in 1613, destroyed the French settlement which had just been established upon the coast of Maine; and, afterwards, proceeding to Acadie, plundered Port Royal and St. Croix, and brought away with him a ship and pinnace, which had recently arrived from France, laden with provisions and clothing [29].

On his return from this expedition, Argall landed upon the island of Manhattan, to vindicate it, in the name of England, from the claim which Holland had put forward.

These transactions are worthy of notice, as marking the earliest collision of European interests in the great continent of the West. They led not, it is true, to any immediate rupture between those parent nations, whose children were thus seeking to thrust one another aside. But they may be regarded as the first shadows of the coming hostility which was pursued in a later age, and turned the New World into a battle-field, on which the armies of the Old contended for the mastery.

Yeardley, succeeded by Argall.

Yeardley, who had been left in charge of the Colony, when Dale returned to England, in 1616, was succeeded, in the beginning of the next year, by Argall, whose name has already been brought before the reader. Argall was a relation of the Treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and a friend of Lord Rich, afterwards the Earl of Warwick,

[29] Purchas, iv. 581—595. 1768; Smith's Virginia, 115; Bancroft's History of the United States, i. 148. ii. 264; Holmes's American Annals, i. 149.

a nobleman, whose factious and grasping spirit was already creating an influence fatal to the best interests of the Company. Rolfe, the widowed husband of Pocahuntas, accompanied Argall as secretary, leaving his infant son under the charge of Sir Lewis Stukely. The infamous conduct towards Ralegh, of which Stukely was soon afterwards guilty, so drew down upon him the indignation of the public, that young Rolfe was removed from his protection, and placed under the charge of his uncle who lived in London. After his education had been there completed, he went and settled in Virginia; where he became a person of fortune and distinction, and left a long line of descendants [30].

The settlement of James Town, under Yeardley's administration, had greatly fallen back from the prosperous state in which it had been left by Dale. According to Argall's report, the public works and buildings had all fallen into decay; only a few houses were fit for habitation; the Church was converted into a store-house; the market-place and streets were planted with tobacco; and the Colonists scattered about in all directions.

His despotic rule.

It is possible that Argall may have described this state of things in stronger terms than it deserved, in order to contrast it with

[30] Stith's Virginia, 145. Stith adds that Rolfe 'left behind him an only daughter, who was married to Col. Robert Bolling; by whom she left an only son, the late Major John Bolling, who was father to the present Col. John Bolling, and several daughters, married to Col. Richard Randolph, Col. John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray. So that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia which long ran in one single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny.'

the prosperity which he reported as the result of his own administration. But, be this as it may, there is no doubt that Argall's despotic and extortionate rule speedily involved the Colony in greater difficulties than those which he found upon his arrival. He enforced without mercy the rigorous enactments of martial law; and, in one particular instance, in which Brewster, an agent of Lord De la Warr, was concerned, the Clergy were constrained to come forward, in conjunction with some of the leading members of the Court by which he had been tried, and intercede for his life, against the cruel and unjust condemnation passed upon him by Argall. They succeeded so far as to obtain permission for Brewster to return to England; and the examination, which the Council at home were led, in consequence, to make into the whole subject, led speedily to the abolition of this hateful law[31].

The death of Lord De la Warr, in 1618.

There was one man, indeed, Lord De la Warr, whose authority, could it have been exercised by him in person, would have prevented the infliction of the perilous evils which his deputies brought upon the Colony. But the bodily illness which had driven him away from James Town, a few months after he had first landed there, continued to wear down his strength; and, in 1618, he

[31] Stith's Virginia, 146—153; Smith's ditto, 123. It is observed by Chalmers, ut sup. 38, that 'this is the first instance of an appeal carried from the Colonies to England; and it is equally remarkable that it was made to the Company, and not to the King in Council; to whom appeals were not probably transmitted till, by the dissolution of the Corporation, the reins of government were grasped by royal hands; nor were they commonly prosecuted till a period subsequent to the restoration.'

died. A considerable discrepancy exists between the accounts which have come down to us respecting his death. Collins relates that it took place whilst he was returning, a second time, to England. Walpole, in his Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, adopts the report that he died at Wherwell, in Hampshire, an estate which then belonged to the family; and appeals to the inquisition taken at Andover, in the following year, for proof of its correctness[32]. On the other hand, every other authority concurs in stating that he died on his second voyage to Virginia[33]. Their notices, though brief, are circumstantial. The only apparent difference between any of them is, that Camden reports De la Warr to have sailed on the 7th of May, 1618; whereas, Purchas states that his ship was finished and set forth in April. But this difference may easily be accounted for, by supposing that the former refers to the day of his embarkation, and the latter to the time when the ship was in readiness for sailing. They all agree however in saying, that, in the course of his voyage, he landed at the island of St. Michael, where he was sumptuously entertained by the governor; and, that, sailing thence, he soon afterwards died, with thirty men, not without suspicion of poison. Stith, indeed, relates that he had somewhere seen an account of his Lordship having died about the mouth of De la Warr Bay, which thence took its name from him[34]. Had Stith related this ac-

[32] Collins's Peerage, v. 23; Walpole, ii. 181.

[33] Camden (quoted by Collins and Walpole, ut sup.); Burke's European Settlements in America, ii. 221; Stith's Virginia, 148; Holmes's American Annals, i. 159; Smith's Virginia, 124; Purchas, iv. 1774.

[34] Stith's Virginia, p. 148.

count with any degree of confidence, it would have gone far to establish its correctness; for his attention to historical details is minute even to tediousness. But he speaks of it only as a vague report. And, in this instance, his information or memory must evidently have failed him; for, it has been already remarked, upon the authority of the Appendix to Jefferson's Virginia[35], that the River and Bay, which now bear the name of Delaware, were so called from the Captain-General of Virginia, when he put in there on his way to England, in 1611. In further proof of the correctness of this statement, there is still extant a letter, from Argall to Master Nicholas Hawes, dated June 1613, five years before De la Warr's death, in which he calls the Bay after the name of that nobleman[36].

But, wheresoever the death of De la Warr took place, there can be no doubt that it was a grievous loss to the province, and to the nation, which had appointed him its ruler. To his family, the privation was rendered still greater by another afflicting event, which probably had preceded it, by a few years,—the death of his eldest son[37]. It is stated, by the Author of the Account of the European Settlements in America, that, when De la Warr was compelled by sickness to return from Virginia, 'he left his son, with the

[35] See p. 221, *ante*. [36] Purchas, iv. 1764.

[37] My reason for thinking this probable, is, that, according to the inquisition referred to above, the marriage of Lord De la Warr with the daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, of Whiston, is said to have taken place in 44 Eliz. 1601-2, and his eldest son to have been in his fifteenth year at the time of his father's death. Collins, v. 23. The eldest son therefore, who had been left in Virginia, in 1611, must have been by a former marriage, although he is not mentioned in the peerages.

spirit of his father, his deputy[38].' This son, I am informed by the present Earl, was drowned on his return to England; and it is supposed that all his father's papers were then lost with him. Thus not only did the choicest of England's nobility fall, in the effort to plant her power in the West, but that which would have been so precious in the sight of their descendants, —their own record of their labours,—has been lost for ever.

Yeardley again appointed over the Colony.

The despotic conduct of Argall soon led to his recall. And, in 1619, Yeardley, now Sir George, went out a second time, with increased powers, as chief Governor of the Colony. His first work was to repair the miseries inflicted upon the settlers by the extortionate oppression of his predecessor. His second, was to establish and convene a House of Assembly, consisting of representatives, to be sent from the Boroughs or Townships of Virginia, by whom, in conjunction with the Council and Governor, its affairs were henceforth to be administered. Copies of all their proceedings were to be forwarded to the Council of the Company at home, who still retained the power of confirming or annulling the Acts of the Colonial Assembly. James Town, Henrico, Bermuda Hundred, and four others, were the first Boroughs which received the right of sending Burgesses to this Assembly; but, before the summer of 1619 had passed away, four more were added to the list; so that the whole number of representatives was eleven[39]. The number of members of the Council appears to have been unlimited; and, among those now added to it, Francis West, brother of the late

[38] ii. 220.

[39] Stith's Virginia, 160.

Lord De la Warr, again had a place. He had been one of the earliest settlers of the Colony[40]; and, notwithstanding that more than one of those who bore his honoured name had fallen under the arduous labour of establishing it, he remained stedfast at his post.

Proceedings of the Virginia Council at home.

The securities, thus given for the better administration of the affairs of the Colony, and the additional barriers thus raised up against oppressive and unjust rule, are to be traced to the change which, during the same year, had taken place among the officers of the Council at home. And to the important proceedings consequent upon this change, the reader's attention must now be directed.

Sir Edwin Sandys elected Treasurer.

The resignation of the office of Treasurer by Sir Thomas Smith, was followed by the election of Sir Edwin Sandys to that important post; and John Ferrar was, at the same time, chosen Deputy Treasurer, in the room of Alderman Johnson. Difficulties of no ordinary magnitude lay before them. In twelve years, £80,000 had been expended; and a further debt of upwards of £4000 was owing by the Company. The English population of the Colony consisted of about six hundred persons, including women and children; but, upon the lands and plantation belonging to the Company, the cruelty of Argall's rule had wrought such destruction, that only three tenants were left[41].

To reform, therefore, the abuses which had produced such disastrous consequences; to set forward in a right direction the energies of the people; and to

[40] See p. 185, note, *ante*.

[41] Stith's History, 159.

secure to them, more completely, all the appliances and means of improvement, were the objects to which Sandys and his associates directed their whole thoughts.

King James's Letter to the Archbishops.

Foremost among their schemes of high and holy enterprise, was the erection of a College in Henrico, for the training and educating the children of the natives in the knowledge of the true God. A Letter had already been issued by James I. to the Archbishops, authorizing them to invite the members of the Church throughout the kingdom, to assist in the prosecution of this and other kindred works of piety. Stith, who notices this letter[42], has not given its date; nor have I been able yet to ascertain it from any other quarter. I have found, indeed, a copy of the Letter itself in the State Paper Office; but the date is obliterated. It is, I believe, the first document of the kind, ever issued in this country, for the benefit of its foreign possessions. It bears upon its front the most distinct and open avowal of the obligation, laid upon a Christian empire, to uphold and spread abroad the Christian name; and, as I am not aware that it has ever been presented to public notice, I now place it before the reader:

'Most Reuerend Father in God, right trustie and well beloued Counsellor, Wee greete you well. You haue heard ere this time of ye attempt of diuerse Worthie men our Subjects to plant in Virginia (under ye warrant of our Lres patents) People of this Kingdome, as well as for ye enlarging of our Dominions, as for propagation of ye Gospell amongst Infidells: wherein there is good progresse made, and hope of further increase: so as the undertakers of that Plantation are now in hand wth the erecting of some Churches and Schooles for ye education of ye children of those

[42] Stith's History, 162.

Barbarians w^ch^ cannot but be to them a very great charge, and aboue the expence w^ch^ for ye civill plantation doth come to them. In w^ch^ wee doubt not but that you and all others who wish well to the encrease of Christian Religion will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to make experience of the zeale and deuotion of our well minded Subjects, especially those of y^e^ Clergie. Wherefore Wee doe require you, and hereby authorize you to write y^or^ Letters to y^e^ severall Bishops of y^e^ Dioceses in y^or^ Province, that they doe giue order to the Ministers, and other zealous men of their Dioceses, both by their owne example in contribution, and by exhortation to others, to moue our people w^th^in their seuerall charges, to contribute to so good a Worke in as liberall a manner as they may, for the better aduancing whereof our pleasure is that those Collections be made in all the particular parishes four seuerall tymes, w^th^in these two years next coming: and that the seuerall accounts of each parish, together w^th^ the moneys collected, be retourned from time to time to y^e^ Bishops of y^e^ Dioceses, and by them be transmitted half yearly to you: and so to be deliuered to the Treasurer of that Plantation, to be employed for the Godly purposes intended, and no other.'

Thus plainly did the Church of England, speaking by the mouth of her spiritual and temporal rulers in that day, acknowledge the sacred duty unto which she was bound: thus faithfully did she seek to animate her children with the desire to accomplish it.

Measures to establish Henrico College.

Upon the election of Sandys to the Treasurership, a sum of £1500 had been collected towards the building of the College at Henrico, and more was expected. He moved the appointment of a Committee to urge onward the prosecution of the work in the Diocese of Lichfield, where there had been some delay in receiving the proper warrant to make a collection. Authority was also given, at his suggestion, to set apart 10,000 acres at Henrico for the College: and an hundred men were sent from England to occupy and cultivate the same; who were to receive one moiety of the produce as the

profit of their labour, and to pay the other moiety towards the maintenance of the College. Reckoning a man's labour at that time at £10 a year, it was estimated that these lands would yield an annual income of £500. The College was intended to be not only a place of education for the Indians, but for the English also; and, early in 1620, George Thorpe, a relation of Sir Thomas Dale, was sent out as its superintendent. A further portion of land, consisting of 300 acres, was set apart for his sustenance[43].

The pious help of private individuals towards that and other like objects.

Whilst these designs were carried on at the public charge of the Virginia Company, the pious help of many private individuals, in furtherance of the same end, showed how ardently they desired to help the Colony. The Bishop of London, Dr. King, had himself collected, and paid in, £1000 towards Henrico College. Vessels for the celebration of the Holy Communion, in the same College, were presented by a benefactor who has not divulged his name; and a similar offering was made by another, whose name is likewise unknown, for the use of a Church, towards the building of which £200 had been bequeathed, in 1618, by a lady, named Mary Robinson. Several other anonymous gifts of Bibles and Books of Common Prayer for the Colony are also reported[44]. Moreover, the sum of £500 was forwarded to Sir Edwin Sandys,—whom the donor, at that time unknown, justly addressed as 'The faithful Treasurer of Virginia,'—for the purpose of training in the knowledge of the Christian faith a certain number of Indian children, from seven, or under, to twelve years of age;

[43] Ib. 162.

[44] Ib. 171; Purchas, iv. 1786.

after which, they were to be brought up in the knowledge and practice of some trade, until they reached the age of twenty-one; when they were to be admitted to an equality of liberty and privileges with the native English of Virginia. Fifty pounds were further given, by direction of the same benefactor, to two religious and worthy persons, who should, every quarter, examine and certify to the Treasurer in England, the due execution of this design, with the names of the children and of their tutors and overseers. At the same time that Sandys communicated this intelligence to the Council, he informed them that he had also received sundry other assurances and promises of support. One of these has been recorded, a legacy of £300 by Nicholas Ferrar, the elder, for the conversion of native Indian children of Virginia, and to be applied to that purpose, as soon as ten children were received into the College [45].

Similar exertions were, meanwhile, going forward in Virginia, for the purpose of making these pious designs acceptable to her native population. The old Indian chief Powhatan, with whom the English had first come into contact, had died in the same year with Lord De la Warr. His brother Opitchapan had succeeded him; but, from imbecility, soon surrendered all his power into the hands of a younger brother, Openchancanough. With this latter personage, Yeardley was empowered to make a special treaty, and to conciliate him, by every lawful means, in order that the introduction of the Indian children into Henrico College might be facilitated, and the designs of its pious founders realised. Others also, in the province,

[45] Stith's Virginia, 171.

sought to forward the same good work; among whom we find a Clergyman, named Thomas Bargrave, who gave his library to the College[46].

Rev. Mr. Copeland.

Amid these various manifestations of private zeal and munificence, one is recorded, which, although a little later in order of time, was so completely identified in spirit and object with those just mentioned, that it may be well noticed in this place. It was the effort to establish a Church and School in Virginia, by Copeland, chaplain of the Royal James, East Indiaman. Upon the return of that vessel to England in 1621, he had prevailed upon the officers and crew to contribute £70 towards this object. Two benefactions were afterwards given, one of £30, and another of £25, for the same purpose, by persons whose names were not known. Charles City, one of the new settlements of Virginia, was the place fixed upon for the erection of the School, which was to be called the East India School, and to be dependent upon Henrico College; into which latter Institution the scholars were to be received as soon as circumstances would permit. The Company allotted 1000 acres of land for the maintenance of the master and usher of the School; and Copeland himself was presented with 300 acres in Virginia. Workmen were sent out, early in the year 1622, to begin the building[47].

Provision for the Clergy.

Whilst these efforts were multiplying on every side for the Christian training of Indian and English children in Virginia, arrangements were begun for ensuring a permanent maintenance for

[46] Ib. 154; Purchas, iv. 1787.

[47] Stith's Virginia, 204.

the Clergy. Each Borough was constituted a distinct Parish; and, in each, 100 acres of land were set apart for a glebe. These glebes were, in the first instance, to be cultivated by six tenants placed on each of them at the public expense. A further settlement also was made, for the minister's maintenance, of 15 cwt. of tobacco, and 16 barrels of corn, to be raised yearly at the rate of 10 lbs. of tobacco, and a bushel of corn, per head, for every man or boy above sixteen years of age. The value of the produce so contributed was estimated at £200 sterling,—the highest amount of stipend to be received by any minister. If, in any plantation, the quota required from each person should fail to make up the prescribed amount, the individual assessment was not to be increased, but the minister's stipend to be reduced in that ratio. If, on the other hand, it should exceed it, then the minister's stipend was not to be enlarged, but the individual assessment to be proportionably diminished[48].

At the time of making these arrangements for the maintenance of the Clergy, there were only five in the Colony[49], a number sufficient for the English popu-

[48] Ib. 173.

[49] Namely, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Stockham, Mr. Mease, Mr. Bargrave, and Mr. Wickham. (Hawks's Virginia, 36.) The faithful and zealous labours of the first have been already noticed. Of Bargrave's desire to promote the efficiency of Henrico College, an instance has just been cited above. Mease is mentioned by Stith, 291, as having lived ten years in Virginia, and drawn up an answer to the calumnies of Captain Butler, which will be hereafter noticed. Upon Stockham's opinions I shall have to make some remarks in the sequel of this chapter. With respect to Wickham, I have not yet been able to obtain any further information, than that which Dr. Hawks has furnished by the recital of his name.

lation, had they been all settled in one place. But the Colony had now extended itself to a distance of an hundred and forty miles on both sides of the James River; and a division, we have seen, had been already made of its territory into eleven Boroughs, which were to send each its representative to the House of Assembly. In each of these Boroughs or Parishes, there ought to have been appointed some one authorized minister of the Church of Christ, to bring home its saving ordinances to the hearts of the people, and be responsible for their welfare.

The Bishop of London applied to by the Virginia Council to provide Clergymen.

For this purpose, the Virginia Council made application to the Bishop of London, to assist them in providing 'pious, learned, and painful ministers.' The position of the Bishop in the metropolis would naturally have induced the Council, who carried on all their proceedings in the same city, to consult his judgment, and act under his authority, in matters ecclesiastical. And when, to this circumstance, is added the deep interest which Bishop King was known to have felt in the welfare of the Colony, and the zealous exertions which he made for the establishment of the College, we may easily understand that they, who were responsible for the right management of the province, would be not less anxious to obtain his help than he to give it. He was forthwith chosen a member of the King's Council for Virginia; and, so far, one channel of direct and authoritative communication was established between himself and the Clergymen whom he nominated, and over whom he was to exercise, as far as it was practicable, Episcopal control. But I cannot find that any other measures were adopted, at this time,

And chosen a member of it.

by which Virginia was formally constituted a part of the Diocese of London [50].

Emigration encouraged.

Whilst these important arrangements were going forward, others were also proposed to the consideration of the Council, which had for their object, not less, the permanent benefit of the Colony, by placing upon a better footing the system of emigration from the mother country. To this end, plans were formed, first, for increasing the number of tenants upon the lands belonging to the Company, the College of Henrico, and the Governor; secondly, for sending over, under proper supervision, an hundred boys and girls, as their servants and apprentices; and, thirdly, the same number of young single women of blameless reputation, for the purpose of forming marriages with the Colonists. The expense of their conveyance was to be defrayed by the Company, in all cases where the women were married to the tenants and farmers of the public lands; but, in the case of their being married to private settlers, the husband was to repay to the Company the charge of his wife's conveyance from England [51].

First transportation of convicts to Virginia.

It had been well for the Colony, if measures avowedly taken for its welfare could have proceeded in their course without impediment. But the same period witnessed the commencement of a system which marred it grievously; and which, in other extensive portions of our Colonial

[50] Stith's Virginia, 173.

[51] 'The price of these wives,' adds Stith, 'was stated at 120lbs. of tobacco, and afterwards advanced to 150lbs., and proportionably more, if any of them should happen to die;—and it was also ordered that this debt should have the precedence of all others, and be first recoverable.' Ib. 197.

empire, has since produced results so full of misery,—the transportation of convicted criminals. The manner of its commencement was as tyrannical and unjust as its subsequent course was ruinous. It was a punishment utterly unknown to the common law[52]; and, not until the 39th year of Elizabeth, is any trace of it to be found in the English Statute Book. An enactment was then passed, 'that such rogues as were dangerous to the inferior people should be banished the realm.' But Chalmers is of opinion, and, I think, rightly, that the present measure was not pretended to be justified under that statute, but is to be regarded simply as an act of the royal prerogative[53]. The Treasurer and Council received a letter from the King, commanding them to receive from the Knight Marshall an hundred 'dissolute persons,' and send them forthwith to Virginia. That such persons would be acceptable to the Colony, by supplying it with the means of labour, was the only plea attempted to be urged in its behalf. But I cannot agree with Chalmers, who thinks it was a mark of 'the good sense of those days,' to consider that the labour of these men 'would be more beneficial in an infant settlement, which had an immense wilderness to cultivate, than their vices could possibly be pernicious.' On the contrary, I believe that the evils produced by the transportation of criminals, according to the system pursued by our own country,

[52] Blackstone, i. 147.

[53] Chalmers, ut sup. 47. It may be remarked, that the word 'transportation' does not occur in any statute until 18 Car. II. c. 3, which empowers the Judges to transport for life the moss-troopers of Cumberland and Northumberland to any of his Majesty's possessions in America. See Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, 1838, p. iii.

have been far greater than can be compensated by any amount of assistance which their labour has afforded to free settlers in the same lands; and that the indignant remonstrance of Franklin must remain for ever a testimony against the error committed by our Legislature, when they let 'loose upon the New World the outcasts of the Old[54]. There can be no doubt, that, in the instance now before us, the proposal to transport criminals to Virginia, was most unpalatable to the Company; but their opposition was vain. Notwithstanding that the Treasurer represented to Mr. Secretary Calvert the great inconvenience and expense to which the Company would be exposed by supplying the means of transport for these convicts, the King's command was urgent; and the embarkation of at least fifty of the number, on board the next ships bound for Virginia, was absolutely insisted upon. The historian of the Colony truly remarks that such arbitrary, insulting, and oppressive conduct was but in accordance with many other like acts committed by him who then occupied the English throne. And not less true is his description of the evils which so speedily ensued.

'It hath laid,' he says, 'one of the finest countries in America under just scandall of being a mere hell upon earth[55], another Siberia, and only fit for the reception of malefactors, and the vilest of the people.'

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[54] Report, ut sup. p. iv.

[55] They who have examined the records of our penal Colonies, in later years, will remember with what fearful emphasis this very phrase employed by Stith (p. 168), nearly a century ago, was repeated by one of the wretched mutineers in Norfolk Island, in 1834. See Judge Burton's Account of the State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, p. 258.

What a melancholy commentary upon these words has the history of our penal Colonies, since that period, exhibited!

Negro slaves brought first into Virginia.

The same year, 1620, which witnessed the first transportation of convicts to Virginia, is remarkable also for the introduction into the Colony of another evil, that of Negro slavery. It is some consolation to know that the authorities at home and in the province seem not, in any way, to have invited, or prepared the way for, its approach. It was, as far as can now be traced, an act of private cupidity and injustice, committed by some of the settlers in James Town, who purchased twenty Negroes from a Dutch ship, which had put in there for the purposes of trade[56]. And, behold, from this source, how deep a tide of guilt and wretchedness has since set in upon the shores of that mighty continent!

Wyat appointed Governor, and the Earl of Southampton Treasurer.

Some important changes now took place in the officers of the Colony. Yeardley's commission expired in 1621; and, as he desired that it might not be renewed, Sir Francis Wyat, whose high character amply justified his appointment, was appointed to succeed him. Upon the expiration also of Sandys's period of office, the Earl of Southampton was chosen Treasurer in his room, much against the will of King James[57]. Both public and private reasons for displeasure existed, on the King's part, against Southampton, and those members of the Virginia Company who acted with him. They were of that party which, in both Houses of Parliament, resisted most strongly the encroach-

[56] Stith's Virginia, 182.

[57] Ib. 181.

ments of the royal prerogatives; and, independently of those questions of general policy which prejudiced the King against them, they felt it their duty also to resist his measures for limiting, first, the importation of tobacco from Virginia; and, secondly, for granting a monopoly of it to certain favoured members of the Company.

King James's dislike of Southampton and Sandys.

The arbitrary imprisonment of Sandys by the King, during the session of Parliament, in 1621, and the arrest of Southampton, after its dissolution, are sufficiently strong proofs of the hatred of the King against them [58], and of the mischief which he was prepared to bring upon the Colony which they supported, rather than be thwarted in the prosecution of his own selfish aims. The ascendancy which Spain had for some time acquired in the English court, and which she skilfully maintained through the agency of Gondomar her ambassador, tended also to influence the conduct of James; insomuch that he scrupled not to countenance measures, the direct consequence of which was

[58] Of the hatred entertained by James against that nobleman and his associates, some striking instances occur in a Tract, printed in London, 1651, and entitled 'A Short Collection of the most remarkable passages from the Originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company.' A speech of the King, for example, is there recorded (p. 4), in which he swore that 'the Virginia Company was a seminary for a seditious Parliament;' and, upon another occasion, when the period of Sandys's office had expired, and the Company were anxious to reappoint him, but the King objected to him, Lords Pembroke and Southampton waited upon his Majesty for the purpose of removing, if they could, his objection. But he refused to listen to their appeal, declaring Sandys 'his greatest enemy,' and that 'he could hardly think well of whomsoever was his friend; and all this in a furious passion, returning no other answer but 'Choose the devill, if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys,' pp. 7, 8.

to benefit the Spanish Colonies to the prejudice of his own. To relate the various proceedings which arose out of this state of things, falls more within the province of the general historian than mine. I only refer to them for the purpose of showing the formidable difficulties which the real friends of Virginia had to encounter in that day.

Charter and Articles of Instruction entrusted to Wyat.

Wyat carried out with him from England a new Ordinance for the constitution of a Council of State [59], as well as regulations for the General Assembly. He was entrusted also with certain Articles of Instruction, the wisdom and piety of which are very remarkable. The first recommendation, addressed therein to the Governor and Council in Virginia, is,

'To take into their especial regard the service of Almighty God, and the observance of His divine Laws; and that the people should be trained up in true religion and virtue. And since their endeavours, for the establishment of the honour and rights of the Church and Ministry, had not yet taken due effect, they were required to employ their utmost care to advance all things appertaining to the Order and Administration of Divine Service, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; carefully to avoid all factious and needless novelties, which only tended to the disturbance of peace and unity; and to cause that the Ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the Churches, or places appointed for Divine Service, decently accommodated, according to former orders in that behalf. They were, in the next place, commanded to keep the people in due obedience to the King; to provide that justice might be equally administered to all, as near as could be, according to the forms and constitution of England; to prevent all corruption, tending to the perversion or delay of justice; to protect the natives from injury and oppression; and to cultivate peace and friendship with them, as far as it should be consistent with the

[59] This Ordinance, dated July 24, 1621, is given at length by Stith, in his Appendix, No. iv.

honour of the nation and safety of the people.—They further pressed upon them, in a particular manner, the using all probable means of bringing over the natives to a love of civility, and to the knowledge of God and his true religion. To which purpose, they observed to them, that the example given by the English in their own persons and families would be of singular and chief moment: that it would be proper to draw the best disposed among the Indians to converse and labour with our people, for a convenient reward; that thereby, being reconciled to a civil way of life, and brought to a sense of God and religion, they might afterwards become instruments in the general conversion of their countrymen, so much desired: that each Town, Burrough, and Hundred, ought to procure by just means a certain number of their children, to be brought up in the first elements of literature: That the most towardly of these should be fitted for the College; in building of which they purposed to proceed, as soon as any profit arose from the estate appropriated to that use; and they earnestly required their utmost help and furtherance, in that pious and important work; not doubting the particular blessing of God upon the Colony, and being assured of the love of all good men, upon that account [60].'

Besides these Instructions, there were others, to encourage the growth of corn, vines, and mulberry-trees, and the breed of silkworms, and to establish the manufacture of silks. Every effort was made to forward these designs, not only on account of the profit expected from them, but also for the purpose of discouraging, as far as possible, the growth and exportation of tobacco, which 'besides many unnecessary expenses,' as the King writes in a letter to Southampton, 'brings with it many disorders and inconveniences [61].' Such language was reasonably to be expected from the author of the Counterblast to Tobacco; but not by his edicts could the growth of the staple produce of Virginia be restrained.

Wyat was also the bearer of regulations for the

[60] Stith's Virginia, 194. [61] Purchas, iv. 1787.

conduct of the General Assembly, which provided that no Ordinance passed by it should be valid, until it had been ratified in a General Quarterly Court of the Company in England; and that no orders of the Court at home should bind the Colony, unless ratified in the same manner in its General Assembly. In the administration too of justice, it was provided, that the laws, customs, and manner of trial observed in England should be the model for their imitation.

The members of the London Council came forward voluntarily with private subscriptions to promote the enterprises which they thus recommended. And in this, as in every other work intended for the welfare of the Colony, Southampton and Sandys still occupied the foremost place[62]. So active were they in their efforts to increase the strength of the Colony, and so acceptable to the public mind were the conditions which they annexed to grants of land throughout the province, that not less than fifty patents for new settlements were issued in 1621; and, in that and the two preceding years, more than 3500 persons emigrated to Virginia[63].

Kind treatment of Puritan settlers.

Of these, some were Puritans. And the kind treatment which they received, at the hands of English Churchmen already settled in Virginia, is worthy of remark, not only for its own sake, as a token of the generous spirit which then animated the members of our communion in that country; but also for the sake of the contrast which it exhibits to the cruel intolerance of the Puritans themselves, when they set foot, a few years afterwards,

[62] Stith's Virginia, 195—198.

[63] Chalmers, ut sup. 57; Purchas, iv. 1787.

in New England. It may be regarded, too, as the evidence of a charitable and humane spirit on the part of those who chiefly influenced the counsels of the Virginia Company at home. For we learn from Rapin, that, in consequence of the rigorous measures adopted towards the Puritans by Archbishop Bancroft, a short time before his death, many had resolved to go and settle in Virginia, and some had actually departed; but that he, 'seeing abundance more were ready to take the same voyage, obtained a Proclamation, commanding them not to go without the King's licence[64].' To insist upon such a condition was, according to the policy then pursued, to forbid the emigration of the Puritans; and this is one of the instances of overmuch severity, to which I have already adverted in my notice of Bancroft's character, as aggravating the very dangers which he sought to repel. This royal proclamation must evidently have been no longer in force, or its conditions must have been relaxed; or not a single Puritan would have been found amid the thousands who now emigrated to Virginia. It is true that the Church of England was no less avowedly established in that Colony than at home; and, if the enactments concerning it had been literally enforced, the Puritan would have found no resting-place within its borders. But abundant evidence has been laid before the reader to prove, that, whilst the letter of the Colonial Law was the echo of that pronounced by the despotic Courts then existing in the mother-country, its spirit was mild and equitable. With the single exception of Argall's government, the administration of the province had been distinguished by gentleness and meekness of wisdom.

[64] Rapin's England, x. 312; Neal's Puritans, i. 438.

Misrepresentations of Jefferson.

I am anxious that the reader should bear these facts in mind, because by some writers they have been left wholly unnoticed, and by others unfairly represented. Jefferson, for example, in his Notes on the State of Virginia, speaking of 'the first settlers in this country,' says that they

'were emigrants from England, of the English Church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religious of all other persuasions. Possessed, as they became, of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren, who had emigrated to the northern government.'

He tries to bear out this gross misstatement of facts, by citing instances of persecution in Virginia, during the latter half of the 17th century, when the Church was encumbered, and well-nigh laid prostrate by heavy trials; and passes over, in complete silence, the records which we are now reviewing. Not content with this suppression of the truth, he hesitates not to deny to the Church in Virginia the only credit which might be claimed for her, amid the difficulties which tempted her afterwards to resort to severe measures. He admits, that, in all the persecutions laid to her charge, 'no capital execution took place, as in New England;' but asserts that

'it was not owing to the moderation of the Church, or spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances which have not been handed down to us[65].'

Thus boldly has this writer dared to tamper with the facts before him. Bancroft, indeed, in his valuable History of the Colonization of the United States, has given a totally different account. Consulting

[65] Jefferson's Notes, &c. 261.

carefully the original authorities, and giving the results of his enquiries with a clearness and energy which, I believe, has never been surpassed, he fully admits, that, at this time (1620), 'Virginia was a refuge even for Puritans;' that the invitation from 'the southern planters,' ten years afterwards, 'to the people of New Plymouth to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England, and plant themselves in the milder regions on Delaware Bay,' was 'a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia;' and, last of all, he distinctly confesses,

'I know of no act of cruel persecution that originated among men who were settlers in Virginia when left to themselves; from the days of John Smith, I think the Virginians were always tolerant [66].'

Having made this open and distinct avowal, certainly the truth further demanded of Bancroft,—if he noticed Jefferson's perversion of facts at all,—to have spoken out plainly in condemnation of it; and not to have varnished it over by saying, as he has done in the last mentioned passage, that it was a mode by which Jefferson, 'in his benevolence, palliated New England cruelties.' Strange benevolence! to palliate deeds of blood, by disparaging the motives of those who refused to lay so heavy a burden of guilt upon their souls! Were it not for Bancroft's admiration of Jefferson, and his hearty agreement with him in many of his views, we might well have mistaken these words for the expression of most keen and cutting irony.

But to return to our narrative. The fleet, which carried out Wyat and his party, reached its destination in safety. The letters announcing that fact contained also favorable reports of the success which had already

[66] Bancroft's History, &c. i. 156. 198. ii. 459, *note*.

attended the commencement of various works in the Colony. And, with hearts full of gratitude on account of the cheering prospect thus opened to them, the Company in London resolved to meet together in the House of Prayer, and commemorate the mercies of God which they had received. Copeland, whose zeal in behalf of their undertaking has been already described, preached upon the occasion at Bow Church, April 17, 1622. He was also soon afterwards entreated by the Council to go over to Virginia, and do there the work of an evangelist. To this end, he was constituted a member of the Council of State, and Rector of the College for the conversion of the Indians. He was to have, moreover, the pastoral charge of the College tenants about him; and to receive, for the performance of the duties, the tenth part of the produce of the College lands [67].

Sermon and appointment of the Rev. Mr. Copeland.

But, whilst these devout acknowledgments of the happy issue of past labours, and these hopeful anticipations of new designs, were awakening the prayers and praises, and stimulating the energies, of wise and faithful Englishmen at home, a cry of bitter lamentation was heard amid the dwellings of their countrymen in Virginia. They had thought that all was peace; and at no time, from the first settlement of the English on the banks of Powhatan River, did their relations with the native tribes appear more friendly. But the Indian was, at that very moment, marking them out for slaughter. Upon Wyat's arrival, he had sent Thorpe, to whom had been entrusted the charge of establishing Henrico

Massacre of the English by Opechancanough.

[67] Stith's Virginia, 218.

College, to confirm all former leagues between the native tribes and the English. Opechancanough, the youngest brother, and now the successor, of Powhatan, received these advances with a good will, apparently sincere, and expressed a desire to be instructed in the knowledge of the Christian faith. A house had been built for him, after the English fashion, in which he dwelt, and 'shewed it to his owne people and strangers with pride, keeping,' it is said, 'his keyes charily, and busying himself with locking and unlocking the doores, sometimes a hundred times in a day, admiring the strangeness of that engine, a lock and key.' In return, he had allowed the English to settle on any part of the banks of the river not occupied by the Indians; and entered into further covenants of amity with them. His people also vied with each other in offices of kindness towards the English; guiding them through the woods, entering unarmed into their houses, and supplying them freely with every kind of provisions. The English, on the other hand, received them without suspicion or fear; invited them to eat at their tables, and sleep under their roofs; taught them their language; encouraged them to worship the true God; furnished them with implements of labour; and lent them their boats to ply up and down the river. The sword and the musket were gradually laid aside as useless. The houses of the settlers were built in solitary places, wheresoever the fertility of soil or convenience of situation appeared to hold out the greatest attraction. No danger seemed at hand. Only one adverse circumstance had recently occurred to disturb the harmony which prevailed between the white man and the tribes to whose land he had come; and, even from that, no evil consequences, it was thought, were

likely to arise. An Indian, named Nemattanow, who, from his fantastic dress, was called by the English Jack o' the Feather, and, from his always having escaped unhurt the dangers of the battle or the chase, deemed himself immortal, had beguiled a planter of the name of Morgan from his house, and murdered him. A few days afterwards, two lads, servants of Morgan, meeting Jack o' the Feather, and seeing him wear upon his head their master's cap, asked him where he was; and, when the Indian told them he was dead, they seized him, that they might bring him before the superintendent of the College, who lived a few miles distant. The Indian resisted them; and, in the struggle, was wounded by a bullet from one of their fire-arms. They then placed him, wounded as he was, in a boat, and proceeded with him to the superintendent's. In the way, the Indian felt the pains of death overtaking him; and the chief entreaty which he addressed to the English lads was, that they should keep the cause of his death a secret, and never let his countrymen know where he was buried, in order that they might still cherish their belief in his invulnerable and immortal nature. His death, however, could not be concealed; nor was any mischief apprehended from it, for it had manifestly been the result of his own violence and fraud. Moreover, Opechancanough had received with the utmost kindness a messenger who had been sent to him, about the middle of March, on this subject; and had assured him that he held the peace so firm 'that the sky should fall sooner than it should be violated on his part.' But his word was false. The savages were even then waiting for his signal to fall upon their victims. The 22nd of March was to be the day of doom. In one hour, upon that day, and

almost at the same instant, there fell, beneath the Indian club and tomahawk, three hundred and forty seven men, women, and children, of the English settlers. Among these, were six members of the Council, including Thorpe, the most distinguished of them, whose zeal and piety and gentleness had already given so precious an earnest of the blessedness of the work to which he had devoted himself. When the Indians were at hand, his servant, suspecting some treachery, had warned him to be on his guard, whilst he himself escaped by flight: but his guileless, unsuspecting master was at a loss to guess the meaning of the words addressed to him; and, in a few moments, his body was torn, limb from limb, amid the yells and derision of his murderers.

The destruction of the English would probably have been complete, had it not been for a converted Indian, named Chanco, who lived with his English master, Edward Pace, as a son with his father. On the night before the massacre, he had been solicited by another Indian,—his own brother, who rested on the same couch with himself,—to rise and murder his master; but, as soon as his brother was gone, Chanco hastened to tell Pace of the impending danger. The Englishman, in consequence, rowed across the river, before it was dawn, to announce it to the Governor at James Town. Intelligence was then forwarded, as speedily as possible, to all the plantations within reach; and, wheresoever the slightest preparation was made to resist the threatened attack, the savages refrained from attempting it. In every other quarter, the work of murder was complete[68].

[68] Stith's Virginia, 208—212; Purchas, 1787—1790.

Its effects.

So grievous a blow as this, followed as it was soon afterwards by famine and sickness, might have been considered as the utter destruction of the Colony. Out of eighty plantations, which, before these events, were prospering, only eight remained; and, of the thousands who had settled among them, not more than eighteen hundred survived. But one of the worst results of the massacre, was the spirit of unrelenting severity towards the Indians, which it engendered in the minds of the English. A most harassing warfare was forthwith begun against them. This, indeed, seemed well-nigh inevitable, after such fearful provocation. But a more humiliating circumstance is the conviction, which seems to have prevailed, that the Indians were fit for nothing but to be trodden under foot and destroyed. There were some in the Colony who, even before the massacre, had entertained these hard thoughts of the people into whose fair land they had forced themselves; and, with shame and sorrow be it confessed, a Clergyman was found to give such thoughts utterance. It is, as far as I can learn, the only blot which attaches to any of the Clergy of the province in that day; but truth demands that it be not concealed. Thus writes Jonas Stockham, May 20, 1621, in a letter to Alexander Whitaker, to be forwarded by him to the Council at home:

Rev. Jonas Stockham's letter.

'As for those lasie seruants, who had rather stand all day idle than worke, though but an hour in this Vineyard, and spend their substance riotously than cast the superfluity of their wealth into your treasury, I leaue them as they are to the eternall Iudge of the world. But you, right worthy, that hath aduentured so freely, I will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which it may be you expect should flow vnto you with a full tide, for the conuersion of the Saluages, I wonder you vse not the

meanes; I confesse you say well to haue them conuerted by faire meanes, but they scorne to acknowledge it: as for the gifts bestowed on them they deuour them, and so they would the giuers if they could, and though many haue endeuoured by all the meanes they could by kindnesse to conuert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers. We haue sent boies amongst them to learne their language, but they returne worse than they went: but I am no States-man, nor loue I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can find no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse: and I am perswaded if Mars and Minerua goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, than these verball Mercurians in their liues; and till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion.'

The hasty and impatient spirit of this writer, which clearly rendered him unfit for the work to which he had put his hand, now found access to the hearts of the great mass of his countrymen. The horrors of the massacre seemed to them to justify his counsel. It 'caused them all,' says Smith, 'to belieue the opinion of Master Stockham, and draue them all to their wit's end[69].'

[69] Smith's Virginia, 139; Purchas, iv. 1779. Smith acknowledges that he agreed with Stockham in his view of the Indian character; and, however it may excite our regret that he should have done so, the fact cannot be denied. But I observe in Stith's History (p. 233),—and it is almost the only inaccuracy I have met with in that writer,—that he represents Whitaker as coinciding also with both Smith and Stockham in this respect. There is no authority for this statement. The letter of Stockham quoted above, is stated by Purchas, in the margin, to have been addressed to Whitaker,—and, so far, the association of their names upon this subject may have led Stith to think that they agreed together,—but the terms of the letter itself certainly go to prove that Stockham and Whitaker had taken opposite views of the method to be pursued in converting the Indians. Stith has also, I think, in the same passage, not rightly interpreted the language of the Council at home on this subject. They might say that the blood of their countrymen who

Nevertheless, wisdom, and humanity, and faith still animated the supporters of the Colony at home. They did not despair. They were compelled, indeed, to defer many of their most important schemes; and the appointment of Copeland, as Rector of Henrico College, and the other works connected with the College, were not proceeded with. But the flame of Christian love was still burning in the hearts of the chief friends of Virginia at home; and, had not the hateful atmosphere of discord and jealousy gathered around it, a bright and blessed ray might yet have beamed from England upon that Colony.

Donne's Sermon.

I know not a more striking evidence of the truth of the above remark, than that supplied in a Sermon, preached before the Virginia Company, by the celebrated Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, November 13, 1622, a few months after the intelligence of the massacre must have reached England. He had long felt a deep interest in the welfare of the Colony, and was, at that time, a member of the King's Council for Virginia[70]. His text is Acts i. 8, "But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." He divides his Sermon into two parts; and, having shown, in the second of these, that the principle of municipal law,—which declares it to be the interest of every particular State to take care that every man improve that he hath for the advantage of that State,—is also a

had been massacred 'would be the seed of the Plantation;' but this by no means implied the resolution upon their parts only to manage the Colony by violence.

[70] Stith's Virginia, 178.

principle which pervades the law of nations; and that, upon this foundation, the lawfulness of making plantations in foreign lands is established; he proceeds, in his own forcible manner, to apply, in subordination to the text, his argument to the case before him:

'And for that, *Accepistis potestatem*, you haue your Commission, your Patents, your Charters, your Seales from Him, vpon whose Acts any priuate Subject, in Ciuill matters, may safely relye. But then, *Accipietis potestatem*, You shall receiue power, sayes the Text; you shall, when the Holy Ghost is come on you; that is, when the instinct, the influence, the motions of the Holy Ghost enable your conscience to say, That your principall end is not gaine, nor glory, but to gaine Soules to the glory of God; this seales the great Seale, this iustifies Iustice itself, this authorises Authoritie, and giues power to Strength itself. Let the conscience be vpright, and then Seales, and Patents, and Commissions are Wings; they assist him to flye the faster: Let the Conscience be lame and distorted, and he that goes vpon Seales, and Patents, and Commissions, goes vpon weake and feeble Crutches. When the Holy Ghost is come vpon you, your conscience rectified, you shall haue Power, a new power out of that; what to doe? that follows, to bee Witnesses unto Christ.'

The Apostles had been commanded to bear their testimony unto Christ, both in Jerusalem and in Judæa; and, in the following passage, Donne shows how it was the duty of the Church to bear a like testimony both in the city and in the country:

[Christ] 'hath sent a great many Apostles, Preachers, to this Citie;—for there are more Parish Churches heere than in others. Now, beloued, if in this Citie you haue taken away a great part of the reuenue of the Preacher to yourselues, take thus much of his labour vpon yourselues too, as to preach to one another by a holy and exemplar life, and a religious conuersation. Let those of the Citie, who haue interest in the Gouernment of this Plantation, be witnesses of Christ, who is Truth itselfe, to all other Gouernours of Companies, in all true and iust proceedings: That as Christ said to them who thought themselues greatest, Except you become as this

little child; so wee may say to the Gouernours of the greatest Companies, Except you proceed with the integrity, with the iustice, with the clearnesse of your little Sister, this Plantation, you doe not take, you doe not follow a good example. This is to beare witnesse of Christ in Jerusalem, in the Citie; to bee examples of Truth, and Justice, and Clearnesse, to others, in, and of this Citie.' Again, 'You (who are his Witnesses) must preach in your iust actions, as to the Citie, to the Countrey too. Not to seale vp the secrets and the mysteries of your businesse within the bosome of Merchants, and exclude all others: to nourish an incompatibilitie betweene Merchants and Gentlemen; that Merchants shall say to them in reproach, You haue playd the Gentleman; and they in equall reproach, You haue playd the Merchant: but as Merchants grow vp into worshipfull Families, and worshipfull Families let fall branches amongst Merchants againe; so for this particular Plantation, you may consider Citie and Countrey to be one Body: and as you giue example of a iust Gouernment to other Companies in the Citie (that's your bearing witnesse in Jerusalem), so you may be content to giue reasons of your proceedings, and account of moneyes leuied ouer the Countrey, for that's your bearing witnesse in Judæa.'

In further illustration of his text, he describes, in the following eloquent terms, the blessedness of the work that awaited them:

'Those of our profession, that goe; you, that send them who goe, doe all an Apostolic function. What action soeuer hath in the first intention thereof a purpose to propagate the Gospell of Christ Iesus, that is an Apostolicall action: Before the end of the world come, before this mortalitie shall put on immortalitie, before the creature shall be deliuered of the bondage of corruption, vnder which it groanes, before the Martyrs vnder the Altar shall be silenc'd, before all things shall be subdued to Christ, his Kingdome profited, and the last enemie (Death) destroyed, the Gospell must be preached to those men to whom ye send; to all men. Further and hasten you this blessed, this ioyful, this glorious consummation of all, and happie re-vnion of all bodies to their soules, by preaching the Gospell to those men. Preach to them doctrinally, preach to them practically, enamore them with your Iustice, and (as farre as may consist with your securitie) your Ciuilitie: but inflame them

with your Godlinesse and your Religion. Bring them to loue and reuerence the name of that King that sends men to teach them the wayes of Ciuilitie in this world; but to feare and adore the Name of that King of Kings, that sends men to teach them the wayes of religion for the next world. Those amongst you that are old now, shall passe out of this world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of that Commonwealth, and of that Church, though they liue not to see the growth thereof to perfection: Apollos watred, but Paul planted; he that begun the worke, was the greater man. And you that are young now, may liue to see the enemy as much impeached by that place, and your friends, yea children, as well accommodated in that place, as any other. You shall haue made this Iland, which is but as the suburbs of the old world, a bridge, a gallery to the new; to ioyne all to that world which shall neuer grow old, the Kingdome of Heauen. You shall adde persons to this Kingdome, and to the Kingdome of Heauen, and adde names to the Bookes of our Chronicles, and to the Booke of Life.'

In conclusion, he thus notices the assistance which had been given to the design:

'I do not speake to moue a wheel that stood still, but to keepe the wheel in due motion; nor perswade you to begin, but to continue a goode worke; nor propose forreigne, but your own examples; to doe still, as you haue done hitherto. For, for that which is especially in my contemplation, the conuersion of the people; as I haue receiued, so I can giue this testimonie, that, of those persons who haue sent in moneyes, and conceal'd their names, the greatest part, almost all, haue limitted their deuotion and contribution vpon that point, the propagation of religion, and the conuersion of the people; for the building and beautifying of the House of God, and for the instruction and education of their young children. Christ Iesus himself is yesterday, to-day, and the same for euer. In the aduancing of His glory, be you so too, yesterday, to-day, and the same for euer here: and hereafter, when time shall be no more, no more yesterday, no more to-day, yet for euer and euer, you shall enioy that ioy, and that glorie, which no ill accident can attayne to, diminish, or eclipse.'

And Prayer.

Donne ends his Sermon with a Prayer, which, although strongly marked by the

quaint phraseology of the age, breathes such a spirit of heavenly love that I dare not suppress it:

'We returne to thee againe, O God, with prayse and prayer; as for all thy mercies from before minutes began, to this minute; from our election, to this present beam of sanctification, which thou hast shed vpon us now: and, more particularly, that thou hast afforded vs that great dignitie, to be this way witnesses of thy Sonne Christ Iesus, and instruments of his glorie. Looke graciously, and looke powerfully vpon this Body, which thou hast been now some yeeres in building and compacting together, this Plantation. Looke graciously vpon the Head of this Body, our Soueraigne, and blesse him with a good disposition to this worke, and blesse him for that disposition: Looke graciously vpon them, who are as the Braine of this Body, those who by his power, counsaile, and aduise, and assist in Gouernment thereof: blesse them with a disposition to Vnitie and Concord, and blesse them for that disposition. Looke graciously vpon them who are as Eyes of this Body, those of the Clergie, who haue any interest therein: blesse them with a disposition to preach there, to pray here, to exhort euery where, for the aduancement thereof, and blesse them for that disposition. Blesse them who are the Feet of this Body, who goe thither; and the Hands of this Body, who labour there; and them who are the Heart of this Body, all that are heartily affected, and declare actually that heartinesse to this action; blesse them all with a cheereful disposition to that, and blesse them for that disposition. Blesse it so in this calme, that, when the tempest comes, it may ride it out safely; blesse it so with friends now, that it may stand against enemies hereafter. Prepare thyself a glorious haruest there, and giue us leaue to be thy labourers; that so, the number of thy Saints being fulfilled, wee may with better assurance ioyne in that prayer, Come, Lord Iesus, come quickly; and so meet all in that Kingdome which the Sonne of God hath purchased for vs with the inestimable price of his incorruptible blood. To which glorious Sonne of God, &c. Amen.'

Internal dissensions of the Virginia Company.

It is sad to think, that, whilst such was the faithful and true-hearted energy exhibited by Donne, and men like him, that their work should have been thwarted, and, in the end, overthrown, by factious and designing members of

their own body, who weakened them from within, and by the tyranny of the crown, which assailed them from without. The Earl of Warwick and Sir Thomas Smith were the chief agitators of these unhappy strifes. They were supported, on the one hand, by a Mr. Wrote, who carried on an incessant warfare against the leading officers of the Company, upon the ground of their receiving excessive salaries; and, on the other hand, by Argall, now Sir Samuel, who was anxious to escape, if he could, from the account which he had yet to render of his oppressive government of Virginia. They had the opportunity of frequent access to the King's presence; and found it an easy matter to fill his mind with prejudices against the Council and its proceedings, as he already entertained, on personal and public grounds, a dislike of its leading officers. John Ferrar, who had filled for some time the office of Deputy-Treasurer, was now succeeded in that office by his brother Nicholas, and shared, with Southampton and Sandys, the attacks constantly renewed against the Council. At length, in 1623, Commissioners were appointed under the Great Seal, to examine into the state of the Virginia Colony; all books and records belonging to the Company were forthwith sequestered by an order of the Privy Council, and Ferrar was put under arrest. The Virginia Council courted the fullest enquiry into their conduct; and deputed a committee, consisting of Sir Edward Sackvill, Sir Robert Killigrew, and Sir John Danvers, to assist the Commissioners in obtaining information. Among the allegations brought against the Company, the most important were those made by Butler, an agent of the Earl of Warwick, who had gone as Governor to the Bermudas; and thence, after displaying a most extortionate and

grasping spirit, had proceeded to Virginia; and published the result of his observations in a paper, entitled 'The unmasked face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the winter of 1622.' Deplorable as the condition of the Colony then was, his representations of it far exceeded the truth, as was proved by documents soon afterwards drawn up and signed by Wyat and the chief members of the Council of State and the House of Burgesses. The wish was sincerely felt and unreservedly expressed by the Council at home, that the minutest scrutiny should be made into their proceedings and affairs; satisfied, as they were in their own minds, that they had acted throughout with justice, and with an unfeigned desire to promote the best interests of the Colony.

But the work of opposition had now gone too far to cease. In November, 1623, an order of the Privy Council was transmitted to the officers of the Virginia Company, requiring them to convene a Court forthwith for the purpose of considering whether they would choose to surrender all their rights under the existing Charter, and accept another which should bring their affairs under the immediate controul of the Crown. They were also informed, that, in default of such submission, the King was determined to recall their former Charters. Argall and his party were for obeying implicitly the order thus conveyed to them; but a large majority supported their officers in declaring resolutely against it. Soon afterwards, the Deputy-Treasurer and others were served with a process of Quo Warranto out of the King's Bench, calling upon them to show by what authority they claimed to exercise the liberties and privileges of a body corporate. And it is no ordinary proof of the zealous and disinte-

rested spirit which animated Ferrar and his brethren, that, when an order was passed that they should conduct their defence not at the public charge of the Company, but of their own private fortunes, they were ready to encounter the risk, and persevered in that course which justice and truth marked out.

Commissioners sent to Virginia.

Whilst affairs were proceeding in this manner at home, Harvey and Pory, who had been sent out as Commissioners from the Privy Council to Virginia, arrived there, in the beginning of the year 1624; and the documents already referred to, signed by Wyat and others, were drawn up and laid before them. The Laws, also, by which the House of Assembly and the Council of State were regulated, were submitted to their inspection; and, from no department of the Colony, was any needful information held back.

Laws of the House of Assembly relating to the Church.

The Laws of the House of Assembly consisted of thirty-five articles, of which the first seven related to the Church and Ministry, and, for that cause, they are here subjoined. They enacted,

'That, in every Plantation, where the people were wont to meet for the worship of God, there should be a house, or room, set apart for that purpose, and not converted to any temporal use whatsoever; and that a place of burial be empaled and sequestered, only for the burial of the dead: That whosoever should absent himself from Divine Service any Sunday, without an allowable excuse, should forfeit a pound of tobacco, and that he, who absented himself a month, should forfeit 50lbs. of tobacco: That there should be an uniformity in the Church, as near as might be, both in substance and circumstance, to the Canons of the Church of England; and that all persons should yield a ready obedience to them, upon pain of censure: That the 22nd of March (the day of the massacre) should be solemnized and kept holy; and that all other holidays should be observed, except when two fall together in the summer

season, (the time of their working and crop,) when the first only was to be observed, by reason of their necessities and employments: That no Minister should be absent from his cure above two months in the whole year, upon penalty of forfeiting half his salary; and whosoever was absent above four months, should forfeit his whole salary and cure: That whosoever should disparage a Minister, without sufficient proof to justify his reports, whereby the minds of his parishioners might be alienated from him, and his ministry prove the less effectual, should not only pay 500lbs. of tobacco, but also should ask the Minister forgiveness, publicly in the congregation: That no man should dispose of any of his tobacco, before the Minister was satisfied, upon forfeiture of double his part towards the salary; and that one man of every Plantation should be appointed to collect the Minister's salary, out of the first and best tobacco and corn [71].'

If the reader compare these Laws with those cited at an earlier period of this history [72], when Dale was Governor, he will perceive, that, although retaining in some respects the same severe and arbitrary character, their general tone is milder and their principles more equitable. The provisions, also, which they contain for securing the proper attention of the Clergyman to the duties of his cure, indicate a spirit of impartiality and justice, which may be in vain sought for amid the articles of the former code.

Attempts were made by the Commissioners to tempt the House of Assembly to surrender their chartered rights, but without effect. Their proceedings throughout were distinguished by the most unfair spirit; and, although no record is to be found of the report which they made upon their return home, it was, most probably, of such a nature as to induce the King to hasten the measures which he had for some time been contemplating.

[71] Stith's Virginia, 276—312.

[72] See p. 231, *ante*.

Petition to the House of Commons.

The Company at home, meanwhile, satisfied that justice was not to be obtained from the King and his ministers, addressed a Petition to the House of Commons, setting forth the great advantages which they had had in view when they settled the Virginia Colony; the first of which is declared to have been 'the conversion of the Savages to Christianity, and establishing the first Colony of the Reformed Religion.' It next recites their successes and disasters, and their inability to remedy the present evils; and prays that the House would take into consideration the particulars of their case, which would be submitted to them by such members of the King's Council of Virginia as had also seats in that House[73]. Nicholas Ferrar, at that time in Parliament, was entrusted with the chief management of all matters connected with this Petition. The House, after some opposition, received it; and referred it to a Committee, before whom the members of the Virginia Council, having seats in the House, were authorized to bring all such particulars as they were cognizant of, touching the four chief points of grievance, namely, the oppression exercised in the importation of tobacco; the contract made between the Company and the Government; the proceedings of the Commissioners; and the measures which had since been adopted. The late period of the Session at which these matters were introduced, prevented the full and adequate investigation of each question. The first of them was the only one which was satisfactorily arranged; and that mainly through the assistance of Sandys, who thus proved his devotion to the last.

[73] Stith's Virginia, 317—328.

Before any further hearing or redress could be obtained, the Charter of the Company was formally cancelled by a judgment in the Court of King's Bench in Trinity Term, 1624. This was followed, in a few weeks, by a proclamation, which forbade the holding of any more meetings of the Company at Ferrar's house; and by an order that the Lord President and others of the Privy Council should meet, with a certain number of knights and gentlemen, at the house of Sir Thomas Smith, for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the Colony, until some permanent arrangement could be effected. A Commission, under the Great Seal, was issued, in August in the same year, continuing Wyat in the government, and Yeardley and West and others in the Council, of Virginia; but, before James could realise any of those schemes by which doubtless he hoped to manifest the superior wisdom of his own counsels, death put an end to his career. On the 27th of March, 1625, began the disastrous reign of his successor[74].

The Virginia Company dissolved.

No further attempt was made by those who had laboured so long and faithfully for the welfare of England's first Colony, to recover the rights thus unjustly wrested from their hands. They found it hopeless to resist any longer the combined assaults of fraud and violence. They had expended, out of their own private fortunes, more than £100,000; they were suffering, also, in their own persons, all the evils which an adverse and absolute authority could heap upon them. The law gave them no redress; for the law

[74] Ib. 329; Chalmers, ut sup. 62; Smith's Virginia, 168; Rym. Fœd. xvii. 609. 618; Hazard's Historical Collections, i. 183. 231.

was not then, as now, administered by free and independent Judges. The records of their own proceedings could not be published; for the hand of despotic power had laid its grasp upon them. The leaders, also, who had cheered them onwards to the struggle, were quickly passing away. Southampton,—whose early years had been stained by a share in the insurrection of the Earl of Essex, and by other acts of rashness, now forgotten amid those more prominent and pleasing records of his life, which proclaim him the generous patron of Shakspeare, and the intrepid champion of Virginia,—died in the winter of the same year which had witnessed the suppression of the Company. A very few years more beheld Sandys also numbered with the dead; and Ferrar, although his life was prolonged throughout more than half of the reign of Charles I., returned no more to the turmoil of secular pursuits; but devoted to the service of his heavenly Master, as an ordained Minister of His Church, that piety and zeal which hitherto had been confined to the House of Commons and Council Chamber of the Virginia Company.

Nicholas Ferrar.

It is impossible to mention even the name of Nicholas Ferrar, and not record his faithfulness and zeal. Such a spirit had distinguished him from boyhood. His career at Cambridge gave further evidences of it; and when, at the age of twenty-one (1613), he left England in the train of the Princess Elizabeth, after her marriage with Frederic, the Elector Palatine, the farewell letter, written by him to his family, and found in his study a few days after he was gone, exhibits most touching and persuasive proof of the extent to which his young heart had been sanctified by the grace of God. Thus, like-

wise, when from Germany he bent his course for Italy, and prosecuted his studies in Venice, Padua, and Rome, it was an advancement in holiness, not less than in learning, which made him in every city a bright example. It gave an increase of strength and energy to each faculty of his nature; so that, leaving Italy for Spain, he could heroically encounter and surmount the dangers which beset him, as he travelled, alone and on foot, through the wild and mountainous regions which lay between Madrid and St. Sebastian's. From that port, he set sail for England; and, after an absence of five years, returned to his father's house, that he might devote to his family, his country, and his God, the gifts and graces of his ripening manhood. His father, who bore the same Christian name with himself, and his elder brother John, were merchants in the city of London, and had, for a series of years, carried on an extensive trade with the chief seats of commerce known in that day. To this cause may be ascribed his own association in the same enterprises. His elder brother already occupied the post of King's Counsel for the plantation of Virginia; and the great hall and other rooms of his father's house were used for the weekly and daily meetings of the Virginia Council. The younger Ferrar, therefore, was soon constrained to abandon the design which he had once cherished of making the University of Cambridge his abode; and, upon the elevation of his brother to the rank of Deputy-Governor, succeeded him in the office of Counsel. He continued, for the space of three years, to discharge its duties; during which period his father died, bequeathing a sum of money, as has been already stated, for the education of the native children of Virginia, and charging his son Nicholas to carry

his intention into effect. In the beginning of the year 1622, which witnessed the dreadful massacre of Opechancanough, Ferrar succeeded his brother, as Deputy-Governor of the Company. The adverse influence of Gondomar was then at its height, in consequence of the intended marriage of the Prince of Wales with a Princess of the reigning family of Spain. But Ferrar held on his course, undismayed by the threats, and uninfluenced by the artifices, whereby his enemies sought to turn him out of it. And, foreseeing that they would not scruple to possess themselves, by means however violent and unlawful, of the documents belonging to the Company which were in his custody, he had caused them to be all copied, and attested copies to be carefully preserved[75]. But his fidelity, diligence, and precaution were all, as it seemed, in vain. The blow was struck; and the plans, which Ferrar had formed for the future welfare of Virginia, were scattered to the winds. There was a time when he had entertained the design of leaving England and settling in that province, that he might devote his remaining years to the work of converting the natives to Christianity. He had spoken fully and frequently upon this subject to that zealous and faithful clergyman, Copeland, whose efforts to promote the same object have been already mentioned; and had found in him a fellow-labourer as eager as himself, to enter upon the enterprise. 'If he should do so,' said Copeland to Sir Edwyn Sandys and others, 'I will never forsake him, but wait upon him in that glorious work.' But the design, in all its fulness, was never realised. Cope-

[75] These papers were consigned by Ferrar to the charge of the Dorset family; but, unfortunately, no trace of them can now be found.

land indeed went afterwards, as we shall see, to the Bermudas, where his name is still held in grateful remembrance. But it was the will of the Great Head of the Church that Nicholas Ferrar should proclaim the Word, and dispense the ordinances of grace, not in a foreign, but in his native, land. In 1626, Ferrar was ordained Deacon by Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, to whom he was introduced by his old tutor at Clare Hall, Dr. Lindsel; and forthwith entered upon the duties of the parish of Little Gidding, in the county of Huntingdon. From that period to the time of his death, which took place in 1637 [76], he gave himself up to those duties, with an ardour and stedfastness of devotion which the world has never seen surpassed [77]. It forms no part of the present work to relate the particulars of the economy which he then established in his house and in the Church; still less can it be required to enter into any explanation of the personal austerities, exercised by himself and the members of his family,—austerities, not exceeded, as his biographer justly observes, by the severest Orders of monastic institutions. It is clear that such rigorous observances were not required by that branch of the Church Catholic of which Ferrar was an ordained minister; and the exaction of them upon his part, may therefore have been justly disapproved of by many who loved and shared the piety which prompted them. There is reason also to think that his own life was shortened by the hardships of fast and vigil which he endured. But, blessed be the memory of this holy

[76] Walton, in his Life of Herbert, assigns the date of Ferrar's death to the year 1639.

[77] Peckard's Life of Ferrar, in Wordsworth's Ecc. Biog. 126—200; Macdonough's Life of Ferrar, *passim*.

man! And praised be the name of God, who, in a day of trouble and rebuke, caused the burning light of his example to shine upon the land!

His message to George Herbert.

The remembrance of the American Colonies was not banished from Ferrar's mind, amid the incessant labours of his Parochial cure. A few years before his death, hearing of the illness of another devoted minister of the Church, whose spirit was congenial with his own,—the sainted George Herbert,—he eagerly dispatched from Gidding Hall his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Duncon, to see Herbert, and assure him that he wanted not daily prayers for his recovery. Upon the arrival of this messenger at Bemerton, Herbert raised himself from his pallet; and, after enquiring after Ferrar and the course of his life, desired Duncon to pray with him. 'What prayers?' asked Duncon. To which Herbert answered, 'O, Sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England; no other prayers are equal to them. But, at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint.' Before Duncon's final departure from Bemerton, Herbert gave to him the manuscript of his own precious poems, and said: 'Sir, I pray thee deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus, my Master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom. Desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies.' A few days afterwards, George Herbert fell asleep in Jesus.

This well-known passage in Herbert's Life has been brought to the reader's recollection, because it is connected with an act of Nicholas Ferrar, which may be regarded as a token of the feelings with which he still looked towards America. In the last of the poems thus delivered into his hands, is one, entitled, 'The Church Militant,' in which, tracing her visible progress among the nations of the earth, Herbert thus writes:

Allusion to the future fortunes of the American Church in Herbert's Poems.

> Religion stands tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand.

And, again,

> Then shall Religion to America flee;
> They have their times of Gospel, ev'n as we.
> My God, thou dost prepare for them a way,
> By carrying first their gold from them away:
> For gold and grace did never yet agree;
> Religion always sides with poverty.
> We think we rob them, but we rob amiss;
> We are more poor, and they more rich by this.
> Thou wilt revenge their quarrel; making grace.
> To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place
> To go to them, while that, which now their nation,
> But lends to us, shall be our desolation.

When Ferrar sent the book which contained this and other poems to Cambridge, to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor insisted upon the erasure of the two first lines which we have quoted. It may be thought, that, if they were open to objection, the second passage might also have been included in the censure; but, be this as it may, Ferrar was resolute in retaining the lines; and the Vice-Chancellor at length yielded to his wishes, expressing great admiration for Herbert, but adding,

Ferrar's sympathy with it.

that he hoped the world would not take him to be an inspired prophet[78].

It can scarcely be said with truth, I think, that Ferrar, when he rescued these lines from the censor's grasp, was influenced only by a blind determination to preserve whatsoever his departed friend had written. There must have been present to his mind a conviction much stronger than any which the impulses of kindly affection could have wrought. The prospect of troubles at that moment quickly gathering around the sanctuary of Christ in our own country, divisions multiplying, and brother lifting up his hand against brother, might well have persuaded Ferrar that the image of Religion fleeing thence in confusion to another clime, was not the mere coinage of the poet's brain, but an actual and present reality. And, when we bear in mind the exertions made by him and other faithful citizens for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ in the Western world; their pains in securing for their brethren who resorted thither every spiritual birthright; their firmness in resisting the unjust encroachments of the oppressor; and their prayers and exhortations in behalf of all who established themselves in those distant provinces; we can well understand the reasons which cheered Ferrar with the belief, that, notwithstanding her oppressive trials, the Church of Christ would not perish, but find, upon 'the American strand,' the resting-place which in England seemed about to be denied her. The seed which had been scattered abroad was "incorruptible," even "the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." And, mysterious though it be, that the husbandman, pre-

[78] Walton's Life of Herbert, 244—251.

eminent in patience, and zeal, and diligence, should not have been permitted to receive the fruit of his labours, yet we record gratefully the faithfulness with which he strove to work in God's wide harvest-field, and the unquestioning humility with which he committed his "way unto the Lord," and trusted in His promise, knowing that He would "bring it to pass[79]."

[79] 1 Pet. i. 23; Ps. xxxvii. 5.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BERMUDAS (CONTINUED), NEWFOUNDLAND, THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA, WEST INDIES, AFRICA, AND INDIA, UNDER JAMES I.

A.D. 1607—1625.

The Bermudas included in the third Virginian Charter.

BEFORE we resume the history of Virginia, under the successors of James I., let us look to the progress of English Colonization elsewhere, during his reign. And, first, let us see what passed in the Bermudas.

The position of these Islands in the Atlantic,—the shipwreck and sojourn of Gates and Somers upon their coast,—their departure, at the end of ten months, for Virginia, in two rude cedar vessels which the timber of the Islands furnished,—the return of Somers thither, after a short interval, to obtain provisions for the settlement at James Town,—and his death, in 1611, whilst he was striving to accomplish the work entrusted to him,—have all been related in a former chapter. It was also stated, that, after the death of Somers, two of the party remained in the Islands, with a runaway criminal of the former crew; and that the nephew of Somers, with the rest who were under his command, proceeded to England, carrying with them the body of their brave leader from the spot

which, even to this hour, has retained the appellation of both his names.

The description which the younger Somers gave, upon his return, of the productions and beauty of the Islands, did not at first meet with credit; but, at length, an hundred and twenty members of the Virginia Company were encouraged to plant a settlement there. The authority granted to them under their Charter, then existing, did not extend to a further distance from the American coast than an hundred miles. They procured, therefore, a fresh Patent, dated March 12, 1611-12, which granted to the Treasurer, and the Virginia Company, 'all and singular those Islands, whatsoever, situate and being in any part of the Ocean Seas, within three hundred leagues' of the coast already assigned to them, 'and being within or between the one and fortieth and thirtieth degrees of Northerly Latitude.'

The Somers Islands Company formed.

As soon as this Patent was obtained, the Virginia Company sold the Bermudas to those members of their body who were desirous of embarking in the enterprise; and a distinct Society was forthwith constituted, under the name of the Somers Islands Company, with Sir Thomas Smith as Treasurer[1].

Richard More, first Governor.

In the summer of 1612, Richard More, to whom had been entrusted the government of the plantation about to be established in these Islands, reached his destination, with a party of sixty men. The three Englishmen, who had been left there, gave an eager welcome to their countrymen, hoping that they might turn quickly to

[1] Stith's Virginia, 126, and Appendix.

their own profit some treasure of ambergris which they had already found among the rocks. But this supposed treasure proved their bane: for, in their desire to keep the possession of it a secret, a fraudulent scheme was contrived between them and some of More's party, by which the greater part of the value of the material was forfeited, and their own lives brought into jeopardy [2].

Several traces are to be found, in the early history of this Colony, of a desire to make the influence of the Church coincident with its first establishment: but this desire was, in a great measure, frustrated by the following circumstances.

Rev. Mr. Keath.

Keath, the Clergyman who accompanied More's party, was unhappily not endued with the wise, and gentle, and conciliatory spirit of him who had sustained and guided the first settlers of James Town; or with the stedfastness and patience of that other Clergyman, who, sharing the disasters of Gates and Somers in these very Islands, had been the first to proclaim upon their shores the message of his Divine Master. The Englishmen, who now set foot upon the same shores, were not unmindful of that message; and, in the original narrative of their proceedings, occurs the following testimony to the fact, on the day of their arrival:

'As soone as wee had landed all our company, we went all to praier, and gaue thankes vnto the Lord for our safe arriuall; and whilest wee were at praier, wee saw our three men come rowing downe to vs, the sight of whom did much reioice vs; so they welcomming vs, and wee the like to them againe, we sung a Psalme, and praised the Lord for our safe meeting, and went to supper [3].'

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[2] Norwood's Narrative in Smith's Virginia, 176.

[3] Purchas, iv. 1794.

In less than a month after their arrival, the Colonists drew up and subscribed the following important Articles.

Important Articles drawn up and subscribed by the Colonists.

'Wee, who haue here vnder subscribed our names, being by the great goodnesse of God safely arriued at the Sommer Ilands, with purpose here to inhabite, doe hereby promise and binde ourselues to the performance of the seuerall Articles hereafter following, and that in the presence of the most glorious God, who hath in mercy brought vs hither.

'First, We doe faithfully promise, and by these presents solemnly binde ourselues euer more to worship that aforesaid only true and euerliuing God, who hath made the Heauens, and the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that according to those rules that are prescribed in his most holy Word, and euer to continue in that faith into the which wee were baptised in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoeuer, dissenting from the said Word and Faith.

'Secondly, because the keeping of the Sabboth day holy is that wherein a principall part of God's worship doth consist, and is as it were the key of all the parts thereof, wee do therefore, in the presence aforesaid, promise, That wee will set apart all our owne labours and imployments on that day, vnlesse it be those that be of meere necessitie, much more vaine and vnfruitfull practises, and apply ourselues to the hearing of God's Word, Prayer, and all other exercises of Religion in his Word required, to the vttermost of our power.

'Thirdly, Seeing the true worship of God and holy life cannot be seuered, we doe therefore promise, in the presence aforesaid, That to the vttermost of our power we will liue together in doing that which is iust both towards God and Man, and in particular we will forbeare to take the most holy name of God in vaine, in ordinary swearing by it or any other thing, or by scoffing, or vaine abusing of his most holy Word, or to vse cursing, or filthy speeches, or any other thing forbidden in God's most holy Word, as also to liue together without stealing one from another, or quarrelling one with another, or slandering one of another: And to auoide all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian Church and well gouerned Commonwealth, and to embrace the contrary, as Justice,

and Peace, Loue, and all other things that stand with the good and comfort of Societie.

'Fourthly, Whereas we are here together farre remote from our natiue soile of England, and yet are indeed the naturall subiects of our most Royall and gracious King Iames of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. We doe therefore in the presence aforesaid, solemnly promise euermore to continue the loyall subiects of our said Soueraigne King, his Heires and Successors, and neuer to reuolt from him, or them, vnto any other whatsoeuer, but euermore to acknowledge his Supreme Gouernment.

'Fifthly, Whereas wee were sent hither by diuers Aduenturers of the Citie of London, and other parts of the Realme of England, wee doe here, in the presence aforesaid, promise to vse all diligence for the good of the Plantation, and not to purloyne or imbesell any of the prohibited commodities out of the generall estate; but to vse all faithfulnesse, as it becommeth Christians to doe, as also to bee obedient to all such Gouernour or Gouernours, or their Deputie or Deputies, as are, or shall be by them sent to gouerne vs: As also to yeeld all reuerence towardes the Ministery or Ministers of the Gospel, sent, or to be sent.

'Sixthly and lastly, Wee doe here, in the presence aforesaid, promise, the Lord assisting us, that, if at any time hereafter, any forrain power shall attempt to put vs out of this our lawfull possession, not cowardly to yeeld vp the same, but manfully to fight as true Englishmen, for the defence of the Commonwealth we liue in, and Gospel wee professe, and that whiles we haue breath wee will not yeeld to any that shall inuade vs vpon any conditions whatsoeuer[4].'

Keath's hasty conduct.

It had been a happy thing for the infant Colony, if the resolutions here set forth had been faithfully observed by those who subscribed them. But differences soon broke out, and were fomented, in a quarter where such provocation ought least to have been expected. It is possible, indeed, that More might too rigorously have exacted from others the labour which he was forward to endure

[4] Ib. 1795.

in his own person; for we read, that, having fitted up some small cabins of palmeto leaves for his wife and family, on the spot now occupied by St. George's Town, he forthwith set about the erection of several forts; and, that, 'although he was but a carpenter, he was an excellent artist and good gunner, very witty and industrious.' In mounting these forts with the ordnance which he had (part of which he had drawn up from the wreck of the Sea Venture), and in preparing the ground for building houses and raising corn, he kept 'his men,' it is said, 'somewhat hard at worke;' whereupon

'Master Keath, his Minister,—were it by the secret prouocation of some drones, that grew weary of their taskes, or his affection to popularity is not certaine,—begins to tax the Gouernour in the Pulpit, hee did grinde the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethren with Pharaoh's taxes. More, finding this, in short time, might breed ill bloud, called the Company together, and also the Minister, vrging them plainly to tell him, wherein he had deserued those hard accusations: whereupon, with an uniuersall cry they affirmed the contrary, so that Keath downe of his knees to ask him forgiueness. But Master More kindly tooke him vp, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modest and charitable in his speeches [5].'

It was not in this spirit that good Robert Hunt had acted, upon his voyage to Virginia, and afterwards in James Town. He, by his earnest and godly exhortation, but chiefly by his faithful example, had soothed, instead of irritating, the hot tempers of the men with whom he was associated. How humiliating is the contrast exhibited in Keath's impatient conduct!

Among the works begun and carried onward by More, during the first year of

Church built.

[5] Norwood's Narrative, ut sup. 178.

his government, was the erection of a Church. In the first instance, he had framed one of timber, which was speedily blown down by a tempest; whereupon, he constructed another, in a more sheltered spot, of leaves of the palmeto. Soon afterwards, another clergyman, named Lewis Hues, came into the Islands.

A second Clergyman arrives.

The remaining two years of the time for which More's office was to continue, were marked by those scenes which too often distinguish the history of infant Colonies; namely, the eagerness of adventurers at home to realise the hoped-for profit; the difficulties of the settlers, preventing them from making such return; and disappointment from both parties venting itself in reproaches upon the Governor. These were the trials which More had to encounter, and this the censure which visited him, when, at the end of the year 1614, he left the Bermudas for England.

Six monthly Governors appointed in 1615, after More's departure.

Six members of the Colony were then left, with authority to act as its Governors, each one in turn for a month, until further instructions were received. No better plan could have been devised to keep up discord amid this small band of settlers. The event soon proved its impolicy. A petition was set on foot, requesting the Governors to retain their authority for a certain time, whatsoever might be the orders sent out from England; and

'Master Lewes Hues their Preacher,' it is said, 'was so violent in suppressing this unwarrantable action, that such discontents grew betwixt the Gouernors and him, and diuisions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemned, and imprisoned, but not long detained before released. Then the matter fell so hotly againe to be disputed betwixt him and one Master Keath, a Scotchman, that professed schollership, that made all the people in great com-

bustion: much adoe there was, till at last as they sate in the Church and ready to proceed to a iudiciary course against Master Hues, suddenly such an extreme gust of wind and weather so ruffled in the trees and Church, some cried out, A miracle; others, it was but an accident common in these isles; but the noise was so terrible, it dissolued the assembly: notwithstanding, Master Hues was againe imprisoned, and as suddenly discharged.'

Captain Tuckar, Governor.

These disorders were corrected, in some degree, by the arrival of a new Governor, Captain Tuckar, in 1616. He 'found,' it is said, 'the inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as also in a manner disdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him; it could not but passionate any man liuing.' But, having already been in Virginia, and seen there the discipline which had been maintained by Dale, he was not slow in enforcing the same over the few men now entrusted to his charge. Five of them, indeed, persuaded him to give them leave to construct a boat of two or three tons, with a close deck, for the purpose of fishing. In this small boat, they contrived to make their escape; and, if the story is to be believed, reached Ireland in safety. One of the party had borrowed 'a compasse diall' from Hues, the clergyman: and, taking it away for the voyage, wrote to him, saying, that

'as hee had oft perswaded them to patience, and that God would pay them, though none did; hee must now bee contented with the losse of his diall, with his owne doctrine. Such leasure,' it is said, 'they found to bee merry, when, in the eye of reason, they were marching into most certaine ruine[6].'

[6] Norwood's Narrative, &c. pp. 183, 184. Upon the arrival of the five men in Ireland, adds the Narrative, 'The Earle of Tomund honourably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung vp for a Monument, as well she might, for shee had sailed more than

The second year of Tuckar's government was rendered memorable by a strange and most destructive visitation of rats, which, having been brought in some ships, about two years before, had multiplied to such an extent, that they not only swarmed in those quarters where they had first appeared, but, swimming from place to place, spread themselves over the Islands, and threatened, for a time, the entire devastation of all the produce.

Division of the Islands into Tribes.

Upon the disappearance of this plague, the Islands were divided, according to a plan of Norwood, whose narrative has thus far been our chief guide. By this instrument, certain of the Islands were assigned for the general maintenance of 'the Governour, Ministers, Commanders of Forts, Souldiers, and such like;' and the rest divided into eight parts, to be called Tribes, and each Tribe into fifty shares, which were to be distributed by lot among the members of the Company [7].

Notwithstanding this appearance of order, there was

3300 miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land; and, I thinke, since God made the world, the like nauigation was neuer done, nor heard of.' Ibid.

[7] Ib. 179—189. These Tribes were called by the names of Hamilton, Devonshire, Pembroke, Paget, Warwick, Southampton, (in honour of the noblemen who bore those respective titles, and who were members of the Company,) and Smith and Sandys (in honour of its successive Treasurers). The names of the shareholders, and the number of shares allotted to each, are also given in the passage referred to; and, among these, may be recognized the names of John and Nicholas Ferrar, and others, who have been mentioned in connexion with the history of Virginia. A minute and curious map, giving a representation of the various buildings, forts, and bridges, erected upon the Islands, was drawn up by Norwood, and a copy is prefixed to the fifth book of Smith's History.

much disturbance in the Colony, arising chiefly from dislike of the Governor, who appropriated to himself 'a faire house of cedar,' at a time when doubtless the rest had but a miserable lodgment. This disregard of his people 'occasioned,' it is said, 'exceeding much distaste,' and 'endlesse vnciuill broiles;' and the Minister, (probably, either Keath or Hues, for I read not of any other at this time,) notwithstanding threats of imprisonment, was among the foremost who remonstrated against the Governor's selfish policy.

Upon Tuckar's temporary departure for England in 1618, and, during the government of his deputy Kendall, the foundation of a Church, to be built of cedar, was laid: and, soon afterwards, a vessel arrived from England, containing 'a Preacher and his family, with diuers Passengers, and newes of a new Gouernor.' The mild and equitable rule which Kendall had maintained among the people made the intelligence of any new commander unwelcome to them; and this feeling of displeasure was heightened by the consideration that they were

'themselues still kept there, whether they would or no, without any preferment, no, nor scarce any of them their inhabiting, to haue any land at all of their owne, but to live all as tenants, or as other men's poore seruants.'

Tuckar succeeded by Butler.

The new Governor was Captain Butler, who has been mentioned, in the last chapter, as having gone afterwards to Virginia, and been active in forwarding the factious designs of the Earl of Warwick and others, to the prejudice of that Colony. He was a man ill suited for his present office. Despotic, cruel, and avaricious, his three years of government, from 1619 to 1622, brought only fresh evils

upon the settlers, who had, by that time, increased to the number of fifteen hundred [8].

Unsatisfactory conduct of the Clergy.

Religious divisions also were soon added to those engendered by Butler's misrule. The two Clergymen in the Islands had refused to suscribe to the Book of Common Prayer; or, as it is stated more particularly in Purchas, were

'not conformable to the Church of England, nor vniforme with themselves in administration of the Sacrament and Matrimony.'

Whereupon, it is said, that the Governor

'finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, bethought himself of the Liturgie of Garnsey and Iarse, wherein all the particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted.'

They willingly consented to use this Liturgy; and, an English translation having been made, the observance of it began upon the following Easter Day [9].

[8] Sparks's Relation in Smith's Virginia, 190—200; Stith's ditto, 277.

[9] Purchas, iv. 1804; Smith's History, &c. 192. The islands of Guernsey and Jersey, whose Liturgy was thus adopted for a time in the Bermudas, had, at the time of the Reformation, received a French translation of the Prayer Book of Edward VI. The reign of Mary brought back the services of the Church of Rome, as it had in England. But, in the reign of Elizabeth, a number of French Protestants, who had formed their churches according to the model of Geneva, having fled for refuge from their own country into those islands, their mode of worship was, with the Queen's permission, established in the Parish Church of St. Helier. From the documents quoted by Collier, it is evident that the English Service was strictly enjoined in all the other Parishes of Jersey; but, owing to the increase of refugees and other causes, these injunctions were disregarded, and the English Liturgy was generally laid aside. This seems to have been connived at by Elizabeth's counsellors, insomuch that in a letter of James I. to the synod of both islands, soon after his accession, it is said that Elizabeth had permitted unto these

It is obvious that herein an open departure was made from that profession of their communion in the

isles, which were 'parcel of the duchy of Normandy, the use of the government of the reformed Churches of the said duchy.' And the King further ordains, in the same letter, that they 'shall quietly enjoy their said liberty in the use of ecclesiastical discipline, there now established;' and forbids 'any one to give them any trouble or impeachment, so long as they continued themselves in his obedience and attempted not any thing against the power and sacred word of God.' But this state of things did not long continue. The governor, Sir John Peyton, came into collision with the synod, upon the subject of an appointment to a vacant living. This was soon afterwards renewed by the nomination of another Clergyman, a native of Jersey, who had been ordained by the Bishop of Oxford, at which university he had studied. Appeals to England and counter-appeals followed these differences; and, in 1619, the order of the Privy Council was read by Archbishop Abbot, that, to redress the disorders which had sprung up, 'it was thought most convenient to revive the office and authority of the Dean; that the Book of Common Prayer should be reprinted in French, and used in their churches: but that the Minister should not be tied to it in every particular.' Two years afterwards Bandinell, an Italian, and then minister of St. Mary's, was appointed Dean of Jersey. Articles also were drawn up, and signed by the King, for the management of the Ecclesiastical affairs of the island, until a body of Canons should be agreed upon. For this cause they were called the 'Interim;' the title which had formerly been attached to articles presented by the Emperor Charles V. to the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1548. The Canons were soon afterwards drawn up and corrected by Archbishop Abbot, Bishop Williams, then Lord Keeper, and Andrewes, then Bishop of Winchester. And, inasmuch as the islands were part of that diocese, it was ordered in the King's Letters Patent, which confirmed these Canons, that the Bishop of Winchester should authorize the Dean of Jersey to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, according to their tenor. Thus Jersey was brought back to a conformity with the Church of England. The same course would also have been pursued in Guernsey, had not the rupture with Spain turned the attention of the English government to other matters. Collier's Eccles. Hist., vii. 371—377; Heylyn's Hist. of Presbyterians, 395—400; Neal's Hist. of

Church of England which the first planters of the Colony had made; and a violation consequently of those Articles of obedience to which, by subscription, they had bound themselves. I have not been able, in any way, to ascertain the authority by which Keath and Hues had been sent out to the Colony. I find, indeed, the name of Archbishop Abbot in the list of those 'Adventurers,' to whom the third Virginia Charter was assigned, and out of which arose, as we have seen, the Somers Islands Company. And it is possible, that the Archbishop may have undertaken the same office in the appointment of Ministers for those Islands, which was borne by the Bishop of London for Virginia [10]. But I do not think this probable; since, however some may be of opinion that Abbot's known sympathy for the advocates of the Genevan discipline may account for the fact that Clergymen selected by him should have departed from the instructions of the Book of Common Prayer; yet the only other fact recorded of Keath and Hues, beyond those already mentioned, is a most humiliating one, and forbids the belief that Abbot could have appointed them to the mission. They dishonoured the Church by their undutiful neglect of her services, and, yet more, by the carelessness of their lives. We learn this in a manner which cannot be mistaken; for, in the memorial addressed by the planters to Butler, just before the expiration of his government, it is declared, at the head of their long catalogue of grievances, that

the Puritans, i. 438—440. The reader will observe, therefore, that the Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey was adopted at the Bermudas, before authentic information of these changes could have been brought from England.

[10] See p. 261, *ante*.

'they were defrauded of the food of their soules: for not being fewer than one thousand and five hundred people, dispersed in length twenty miles, they had at that present but one Minister, nor neuer had but two, and they so shortened of their promises, that but onely for meere pity they would haue forsaken them.'

Nicholas Ferrar, deputy treasurer; and Barnard, Governor.

It is remarkable, that, as soon as some of the same parties, who had shown such fidelity and zeal in the Council of the Virginia Company, came to have any direct influence in the management of the present Colony, a beneficial change was at once produced among the inhabitants. For, the same year, 1622, which saw Nicholas Ferrar deputy-governor of the Virginia Company, saw him, likewise, filling the same office with reference to the Bermudas. Under his auspices, John Barnard was sent out as Governor;

'a gentleman,' it is said, 'both of good meanes and quality;' and, 'during the time of his life, which was but six weekes, in reforming all things he found defectiue, he shewed himself so iudicioll and industrious as gaue great satisfaction, and did generally promise vice was in great danger to be suppressed, and vertue and the Plantation were much aduanced.'

The early termination of this excellent Governor's career was but the precursor of other events which proved, in various ways, injurious to the Colony. Its officers were anxious to remedy the evils which had been introduced and grown up among the first settlers; but all their efforts were obstructed and made abortive by the oppressive exercise of the King's influence. Stith indeed relates, in his history of Virginia, that James put an end to the Somers Islands Company by a process even more summary than that which had extinguished the authority of the Virginia Council; and that, without sending out any Commission of

enquiry, or resorting to any intervention of a Court of Law, he issued a letter, early in the year 1624, suppressing the further holding of the Company's Courts. Relying upon the accuracy of this writer, I had repeated this statement, in the first edition of this work. But I have since ascertained from Her Majesty's Attorney-General for the Colony, Mr. Darrell, that Stith was in error; and that the Bermudas Company was not suppressed until the reign of Charles II.; when by virtue of a writ of Quo Warranto prosecuted in 1684, sentence to that effect was formally delivered in the King's Bench.

Notice of Virginia and the Somers Isles in Lord Chancellor Bacon's speech.

A remarkable notice of these earliest possessions of the British empire in the West, occurs in Lord Chancellor Bacon's speech to Serjeant Richardson, Speaker of the House of Commons, in the Parliament which met for business January 30, 1620. In the enumeration made therein of the 'benefits, attributes, and acts of government' of King James, Bacon states

'This kingdom now first in his majesty's times hath gotten a lot or portion in the new world by the plantation of Virginia and the Summer Islands. And certainly, it is with the kingdoms on earth as it is in the kingdom of heaven; sometimes a grain of mustard-seed proves a great tree, Who can tell [11]?'

Alas, for him whose

'old experience' did 'attain
To something like prophetick strain,'

when he thus glanced at the future destinies of England! The self-same hour in which he uttered these words saw him tottering to his fall. Ripe in years, and rich with the investiture of honours heaped upon

[11] Bacon's Works, vi. 68.

him by the King, Bacon was then ennobled by a dignity far loftier than any which age can command, or royal favour can bestow: for the wisest of the earth had united to pay homage to that great philosophical work which, although only a portion of that which he had once designed, he had, but a short time before, fashioned to that form which has won the admiration of the world[12]. But there was a worm at the root of all his greatness; and, in a few short weeks, he was cast from his high estate, a ruined and a degraded man. Nor can it be denied that the loss of Bacon's fame, in any one respect, has made his country, yea, the whole world, the poorer. Yet the monuments of his genius are imperishable; and, gazing upon them, we reverence the hand that reared their greatness and their beauty. We share the ardour of Bacon's friend, Ben Jonson, who hesitated not to say of him, in the day of his humiliation,

'My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his works one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages; in his adversity, I ever prayed that God would give him strength, for greatness he could not want[13].'

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[12] The Novum Organum was published by Bacon, in 1619, when he was in his sixtieth year. In January of the previous year he had been appointed Lord Chancellor; in the July following, he had been created Baron Verulam; and, in January 1620, Viscount St. Alban's. Parliament met three days after his elevation to the last named dignity; and, on the 15th of the following March, those petitions were presented against his corrupt practices in the Court of Chancery which led to his disgrace. Montagu's Life of Bacon, Works, xvi. cclviii. cccix. and cccxiii.

[13] Ib. cccexxv.

We remember also that appeal which Bacon, with such touching solemnity, has recorded in his Will,

'For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and to the next age;'

and we know that the appeal has not been urged in vain. Last of all, we trust that the prayer which Bacon, in the day of his prosperity, poured forth, did not return unto him void, when he said,

'O Lord God, my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter.—Remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved thy assemblies: I have mourned for the divisions of thy Church; I have delighted in the brightness of thy sanctuary. This vine, which thy right hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee that it might have the first and the latter rain; and that it might stretch her branches to the seas and to the floods.—Thy creatures have been my books, but Thy Scriptures much more. I have sought Thee in the courts, fields, and gardens, but I have found Thee in Thy temples [14].'

May he not have found God in vain! More than five years were added to Bacon's life, after he had fallen from his high office; and the works, which he composed in that period, were second to none of those in his earlier days, for the depth and range of thought which they exhibit. It is this fact which leads me to ask the reader carefully to consider the principles which, in these and some of his former writings, he thought needful to be observed in the plantation of Colonies; and the pains which he employed to impress them upon those who then stood in the high places of the earth.

Bacon's views of Colonization.

The erroneous observation of Robertson, that the

[14] Ibid. p. ccccxxxiii.; and vii. 5.

establishment of martial law in Virginia was owing to the advice of Bacon, has already been pointed out[15]; and, in the passage there quoted from Bacon's Essay on Plantations,—an Essay written in the evening of his life,—it has been seen that the great end which, above all, men ought to keep in view, in the conduct of such enterprises, was, as he said, that they should 'have God always, and his services, before their eyes.' That many of his own countrymen were negligent in regarding that end, and slow to exercise the means necessary to attain it, is an evil which he condemns elsewhere in terms of glowing eloquence. Thus, in his 'Advertisement touching an Holy War,' written in 1623, and therefore nearly contemporary with his Essay on Plantations, Bacon introduces Martius as saying that there was, in that day,

'a kind of meanness in the designs and enterprises of Christendom;' and that the 'wars were as the wars of heathens,—for secular interest or ambition, not worthy of the warfare of Christians. The Church, indeed, maketh her missions into the extreme parts of the nations and isles, and it is well: but this is *Ecce, unus gladius hic.* The Christian princes and potentates are they that are wanting to the propagation of the faith by their arms. Yet our Lord, that said on earth to the disciples, *Ite et prædicate*, said from heaven to Constantine, *In hoc signo vince.* What Christian soldier is there that will not be touched with a religious emulation to see an order of Jesus, or of St. Francis, or of St. Augustine, do such service for enlarging the Christian borders; or an order of St. Jago, or St. Michael, or St. George, only to robe, and feast, and perform rites and observances? Surely the merchants themselves shall rise in judgment against the princes and nobles of Europe; for they have made a great path in the seas, unto the ends of the world; and set forth ships, and forces, of Spanish, English, and Dutch, enough to make China tremble; and all this for pearl, or stone, or spices: but for the pearl of the kingdom of heaven, or the stones

[15] See p. 230, *ante*.

of the heavenly Jerusalem, or the spices of the spouse's garden, not a mast hath been set up: nay, they can make shift to shed Christian blood so far off amongst themselves, and not a drop for the cause of Christ[16].'

Thus, again, in one of his earlier works, in which he gives advice to Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, how to govern himself in the station of Prime Minister, the seventh article of instruction is that of 'Colonies, or foreign plantations.' Under which head, —after giving many suggestions as to the choice of place and fit Governors, and the necessity of the plantations being settled under Letters Patent from the King, that they might be under his protection, and acknowledge their dependency upon the Crown of England,— Bacon observes further:

'For the discipline of the Church in those parts, it will be necessary that it agree with that which is settled in England, else it will make a schism and a rent in Christ's coat which must be seamless; and, to that purpose, it will be fit, that, by the King's supreme power in causes ecclesiastical within all his dominions, they be subordinate under some bishop or bishoprick of this realm.'

Again, with respect to the cautions to be observed in such undertakings, he forbids that any 'extirpation of the natives be made under pretence of planting religion,' saying, 'God surely will in no way be pleased with such sacrifices;' and makes it a recommendation 'to establish there the same purity of religion, and the same discipline for Church government, without any mixture of popery or anabaptism, lest they should be drawn into factions and schisms, and that place receive them there bad, and send them back worse.' And,

[16] Bacon's Works, vii. 119.

as a further protection against such consequences, he urges,

'that if any transplant themselves into plantations abroad, who are known schismatics, outlaws, or criminal persons, that they be sent back upon the first notice; such persons are not fit to lay the foundation of a new Colony [17].'

When Bacon thus ranks schismatics in the same class with outlaws and criminals, he repeats, it must be confessed, to a certain extent, the severe language of the statutes of that day, against Recusants and Separatists. The causes of such severity, and the evil consequences which flowed from it, have already been set before the reader; and it were needless again to advert to them. It is necessary, however, to remark, that the approval which Bacon, in the above passage, seems to give of such rigorous enactments, was not in accordance with his ordinary train of thought. Upon all questions of general policy, his opinions, doubtless, were far more wise and moderate than those of the age in which he lived [18]. It is important also to observe, that the hurtful influences which such severe instructions, if strictly pursued, might have produced, did not operate in Virginia, during any part of the reign of James I. The Puritans found a refuge in that province from the harsh treatment which elsewhere awaited them; and, whatsoever may have been the severity of the written Colonial law, the spirit which administered it was mild and equitable.

With respect to the other instruction set forth by Bacon in the above passage, that 'the Church in those

[17] Ib. vi. 438—442.

[18] See his letter to Villiers, in 1616, quoted in a note in Hallam's Constitutional History, i. 557.

parts' should 'agree with that which is settled in England,' and should therefore 'be subordinate under some bishop or bishoprick of this realm;' it followed as a corollary from the propositions already laid down in the Acts of Supremacy and Conformity. Whatsoever reasons existed for incorporating the Church with the State at home, or whatsoever the principles upon which those Acts, passed in the first year of Elizabeth, were established[19], it is evident that they applied also to those regions which were peopled by children of the parent country. And, although it is impracticable to make that application, and would be unjust even to attempt it, in the English Colonies of the present day, because in some of them the institutions, different from our own, which we found in existence there, are secured by treaty to the inhabitants; and, in others, the circumstances, which have marked their history from our first possession of them, are such as to forbid the introduction of all those laws by which we ourselves are bound; yet, every one must admit, that, if unity in the body be an essential law of the Church of Christ, it is an unity which ought to pervade every member of the body, howsoever remote from the head, or it is marred and weakened. With equal readiness, too, must it be admitted, even by those who deny to our Church the character which her affectionate and faithful children claim for her, that, if we believe her to be a branch of the 'One Catholic and Apostolic Church,' we are bound to secure her ministrations in all their integrity, to the brethren whom seas and lands now separate from their native land. That separation, in well-nigh every instance, is made for the real or supposed benefit of

[19] See p. 101, *ante*.

ourselves who remain at home, not less than for the benefit of those who depart; and hence a quicker impulse is imparted to the performance of the duty required on their behalf.

The necessity of Colonial Bishops involved in his arguments.

Upon this principle, rests the instruction which Bacon has set forth, and which we again quote, namely, that to guard against the sin of rending the coat of Christ 'which must be seamless,' 'the discipline of the Church in' the Colonies should 'agree with that which is settled in England;' and, that, to that purpose, it should 'be subordinate under some bishop or bishoprick of this realm.' But, this proposition being admitted, another, claiming equally our acceptance, immediately follows it, namely, that this 'bishop or bishoprick' to which the discipline of Colonial Churches is required to be subordinate, although necessarily '*of* this realm,' should not be *in* it. Its existence, that is, must be derived from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church at home, acting under the authority of her supreme temporal ruler, the Sovereign; but its functions must be transferred, directly and visibly, to the region whose inhabitants it professes to controul; or the subordination, insisted upon, is little better than a name. It is impossible that the limbs of the body can retain their vital energy, if severed from the head; or armies be victorious, if the voice of the commander be not heard among them; or the vessel reach the haven, if the hand of the pilot be not ever upon the helm. And equally impossible is it that Episcopacy can be known and felt to be the appointed instrument by which God governs His Church, save by the personal and constant presence of him who is called to the Episcopate. This is evident from the nature of

the case. To state the proposition is to demonstrate it. If further proof of its truth be required, it is furnished by Bacon himself in another Treatise,—entitled 'Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England,'—in which he shows that the deputation of the Episcopal authority to Commissaries official, is a departure 'from the examples and rules of government.'

'In all laws of the world,' he says, 'offices of confidence and skill cannot be put over, nor exercised by deputy, except it be especially contained in the original grant: and in that case, it is dutiful.'

For proof of this, he remarks further, that, no Chancellor of England, nor any Judge of any Court, appointed deputies. But

'the bishop is a judge, and of a high nature; whence (he asks) cometh it that he should depute, considering that all trust and confidence, as was said, is personal and inherent; and cannot, nor ought to be transposed?'

If, then, the delegation of the Episcopal authority, even in such cases, be regarded by Bacon as a departure from the primitive model; and if, for the reasons alleged by him, in the context of the above passage, he argues that the Bishop should supply 'his judicial function in his own person;' and, from the nature of the suits brought forward in spiritual courts, he thinks it reasonable that 'there were no audience given but by the Bishop himself[20];' how much more stringent is the necessity which his argument supplies, that the presence of the Bishop should quickly follow, if not accompany, the earliest planting of Churches in foreign lands?

[20] Bacon's Works, vii. 74.

Bacon a member of the Company for the Colony of Newfoundland.

Bacon, at a previous period of James's reign, had been personally interested in promoting the colonization of Newfoundland. In 1610, an expedition upon a large scale was fitted out by Guy, a Bristol merchant, with the view of opening a permanent intercourse with that Island; and a Patent was then granted to the Earl of Northampton, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Francis Bacon, Solicitor-General, and more than forty other Associates, incorporating them under the name of 'The Treasurer and Company of Aduenturers and Planters of the Cities of London and Bristoll, for the Colony and Plantation in Newfoundland.' Slany was appointed their Treasurer.

Terms of the Patent.

This document recites the fact, that the English had resorted, for more than fifty years, in no small numbers to that Island, for the purpose of fishing, and that it was hereby intended to protect them in the prosecution of their trade; that the coasts were

'so destitute and desolate of inhabitance, that scarce any one sauage person had in many yeeres beene seene in the most parts thereof;' that, 'by the Law of Nature and Nations,' the same might be taken possession of, and assigned to Englishmen, 'without doing wrong to any other Prince, or State, considering that they cannot iustly pretend any Soueraigntie or Right thereunto;' that, 'therefore thinking it a matter and action well beseeming a Christian King, to make true vse of that which God from the beginning created for mankind; and intending not onely to work and procure the benefit and good of many of' his people, 'but principally to increase the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the propagation of the Christian Faith,' the English monarch had 'graciously accepted of the intention and suit' of those of his subjects who desired to establish a Colony there; reserving, at the same time, to others of his

subjects, and to those of every other nation, any right of fishing which they had acquired[21].

Whitbourne's Discourse on Newfoundland.

Supplies were sent yearly to the settlers in Newfoundland from Bristol, until 1614[22], after which period, I cannot find any trace of the active operations of the Company. But intercourse with the Island must have continued; for I find in Whitbourne's Discourse, published in 1622, that 'the undertakers of the Newfoundland Plantation had maintained a Colony of his Maiestie's subiects there aboue twelue yeares,' and were 'willing to entertain such as will further his Maiesties said Plantation upon fit conditions.' Other parties are also mentioned in the same work, as having undertaken to plant Colonies in the same Island, and ready to entertain such as should adventure with them therein. The most distinguished of these were Henry, Viscount Falkland, and Sir George Calvert, afterwards the first Lord Baltimore; of the latter of whom more will be said hereafter. Whitbourne possessed many opportunities of obtaining accurate information of Newfoundland, from the long period in which he had been engaged in trading with the Island, and from the authority which he had been commissioned to exercise over it. I have already said that he was at St. John's, when Gilbert arrived there in 1583; and that he witnessed the formal acts by which possession was then taken of that haven and the adjoining country, under the Charter of Elizabeth[23]. Whitbourne speaks also, in the preface of his Discourse, of many other voyages

[21] Purchas, iv. 1876.

[22] Barrett's History of Bristol, 178; Stow's Annals, 193.

[23] See p. 53, *ante*.

which he made to the same Island in after years; and, in 1615, he was sent out, with a commission from the High Court of Admiralty, to correct certain abuses which had sprung up among the fisheries.

His description of its fisheries.

The fisheries had even then become of great importance; for, besides the French, Biscayan, and Portuguese mariners, who annually resorted to Newfoundland, Whitbourne reports not less than 250 sail of English vessels, about 60 tons each, engaged in fishing off its coast, in 1615; employing, by his calculation, not less than 5000 hands; taking, each of them, 120,000 fish, and 5 tons of train oil; and yielding, by the produce of their cargoes, at the lowest rate, £135,000[24].

His kindly feeling towards the natives, and appeal in their behalf.

But Whitbourne does not confine his Discourse to the fisheries of Newfoundland. He gives several notices of its native inhabitants, its geographical position, and the productions of its soil and climate. And the spirit in which he makes these remarks, proves that he had other and higher objects present to his mind than those of mere traffic. Thus, speaking of the savages in Trinity Bay, who used to come secretly in the night time, and steal the lines, and sails, and knives of the English fishermen, he says;

'If they might be reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinity indeed, no doubt but it would be a most sweete and acceptable sacrifice to God, an euerlasting honour to your Maiesty, and the heauenliest blessing to those poore Creatures, who are buried in their superstitious ignorance. The task thereof would proue easie, if it were but well begun, and constantly seconded by industrious spirits: and no doubt but God himselfe would set his hand to reare vp and aduance so noble, so pious, and so Christian a building.'

[24] Whitbourne's Discourse, &c. 11.

Again;

His religious hopes.

'It is by a Plantation [in Newfoundland], and by that meanes onely, the poore misbeleeuing inhabitants of that Countrey may be reduced from Barbarisme to the knowledge of God, and the lighte of his truth; and to a ciuill and regular kinde of life and gouernement. This is a thing so apparant, that I neede not enforce it any further, or labour to stirre vp the charity of Christians therein, to giue their furtherance towards a worke so pious, euery man knowing that euen we ourselues were once as blinde as they in the knowledge and worship of our Creator, and as rude and sauage in our liues and manners. Onely thus much I will adde, that it is not a thing impossible but that, by meanes of these slender beginnings which may be made in Newfoundland, all the regions neere adioyning thereunto may in time bee fitly conuerted to the true worship of God[25].'

The appeal which Whitbourne, upon the strength of these and other statements, urged upon the people of England, in behalf of her earliest Colony, was favourably received by her rulers. A letter, dated June 30, 1621, from the Lords of the Privy Council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, is prefixed to his Discourse, recommending that copies of it be distributed throughout their respective Provinces, 'for the encouragement of Aduenturers unto the Plantation there,' and that collections be made on his behalf in the several Parish Churches. This letter is accompanied by a copy of the King's order, dated Theobalds, April 12, 1622, confirming the proposed design, and commanding that it be proceeded with. Obstacles, however, existed in the way of accomplishing all that was thereby intended; and the superior attractions of the American continent tempted most men to neglect the proposals of Whitbourne in behalf of Newfoundland.

Letter from the Privy Council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in 1621.

[25] Ib. 4. 14.

Colony planted at Avalon by Sir George Calvert.

If success could have followed a compliance with them, it might reasonably have been expected, when Sir George Calvert made the attempt, towards the close of James's reign, and gave to that enterprise all the help which it could derive from his intelligence, experience, high character, and commanding influence. He was a native of Yorkshire; which county he afterwards represented in Parliament. His education was conducted, first, at Trinity College, Oxford, and next upon the continent, where he received probably that impulse which led him finally to enter into communion with the Romish Church. His first office was that of Secretary to Lord Treasurer Cecil; and he was thence appointed Clerk of the Council. In 1618, he received the honour of knighthood; and, in 1619, succeeded Sir Thomas Lake, as one of the two Secretaries of State; in which capacity, we have seen, he communicated the King's instructions to the Virginia Company [26].

Calvert received at this time a Patent from the King, constituting him and his heirs absolute proprietors of the whole of the south-eastern peninsula of Newfoundland. He gave to it the name, which it still retains, of Avalon, the ancient name of Glastonbury. Tradition reports that Joseph of Arimathæa, having come over to Britain, had received from King Arviragus twelve hides of land at Avalon, as a dwelling place for himself and his companions, had there preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of the country; and had there too built a Church, which afterwards became his sepulchre [27]. As Avalon, therefore, according to this story, had been the first fruits of

[26] See p. 264, *ante*.

[27] Fuller's Church History, p. 6.

Christianity in ancient Britain, so Calvert desired to perpetuate the name, and invest it with similar associations, in his own portion of Newfoundland.

This dependence upon a tradition which rests upon the weakest authority, may be regarded as a sign of the tendency of Calvert's mind to receive with implicit faith those questionable narratives, which Fuller justly describes as being 'much swoln and puff'd up with the leaven of Monkery.' At the same time, it must be admitted that his exertions to make the Avalon of the New World a precious seed-plot of Christianity to its benighted inhabitants, were as great as if the dark legend had been a sure record of Holy Writ. He built a 'fair house' in Ferryland, one of the chief promontories upon the eastern coast, and expended not less a sum than £25,000 in advancing the plantation. 'Indeed his publick spirit,' says Fuller, 'consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Christianity, and the King's dominions[28].' The Colony was first settled in 1621; and several letters are appended to Whitbourne's Discourse, written in the following year to Calvert, from the Governor and others whom he had sent out. Up to this period, Calvert had been apparently a faithful and consistent member of the Church into which he had been received by Baptism. But, early in 1624, he announced to King James that he had entered into communion with the Church of Rome; and therefore resigned his office of Secretary of State, which, he said, he could no longer with a safe conscience hold. The prudence, however, and ability which Calvert had always displayed, and the high regard which James entertained

[28] Fuller's Worthies, (Yorkshire,) 201.

for him, led that Sovereign to retain him as a member of the Privy Council, and to create him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore, in Ireland. Upon James's death, he went twice in person to Newfoundland: but receiving much annoyance and injury from the attacks of the French, and from those 'Pyrats and erring subiects' of England whom Whitbourne describes, in his Preface, as hindering 'the good purposes' of the settlers, he withdrew entirely from the Colony which he had intended to make[29].

But the thoughts and wishes of Calvert were still turned towards the New World. He had been a member of the Virginia Company during James's reign; and obtained, from Charles I., under circumstances to be detailed hereafter, a Patent to colonize the province lying north-east of the Potomac. This province, in honour of Charles's Queen, Henrietta Maria, received the name, which it still retains, of Maryland; and, in the designation of its chief city, Baltimore, has perpetuated the title of him who first made the British name respected within its borders.

Present claims of Newfoundland upon England's sympathy.

Before I conclude this chapter, I wish to call attention to some considerations suggested by the circumstances of Newfoundland. The first is supplied in the fact, that, whilst Virginia, and Maryland, and the other provinces of North America, whose earliest colonization is here recorded, have all been separated from their mother-country, through the unjust and disastrous policy afterwards pursued towards them, Newfoundland still remains an integral portion of her

[29] Ib.; Collier's Hist. Dict.; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, iii. 26.

empire. As it was the most ancient, so has it ever since continued to be a most important, foreign possession of England.

The same, indeed, may be predicated of the Bermudas, the progress of whose history has also been noticed, and which now constitute, with Newfoundland, one Diocese of our Colonial Church. But the tropical climate and beautiful scenery of the Bermudas; the name and character of a Colony which, since their first acquisition by this country, these Islands have always retained; the grateful associations connected with them, as a place of refuge for the Cavaliers, in the time of the civil wars; the distinction early conferred upon them by the verses of Waller and of Marvel[30]; their spacious harbours; the abundant supply of timber from their cedar-groves; the strong natural defences of their rock-bound coasts, made yet stronger by the help of art; the convenience of their position in the Atlantic, with reference to our other Colonies in the West; the testimony borne to that fact in the designation of these Islands as 'the Gibraltar of the West Indies;' the desire which, in consequence, has been ever manifested to extend to them every aid and protection which England can afford; all these circumstances have contributed to secure to the Bermudas, in return, those benefits which the friendly and intimate union of a Colony with the mother-country can scarcely fail to realise.

[30] The exquisitely beautiful descriptions of the Bermudas, given by Moore, in his poetical Epistle to the Marchioness Dowager of Donegal, and by Basil Hall in his First Series of Fragments of Voyages and Travels, will remind the reader of the valuable materials, which writers of the present day have continued to draw from the scenery of these Islands.

Former neglect

But it has not been so with Newfoundland. Possessing an area, in square miles, more than sixteen hundred times as great as that of the Bermudas, and a population about seven times as large[31], it was not, until the last few years, formally recognised as a Colony of the British Empire. The importance of its fisheries, as a source of wealth, and a means of cherishing and exercising the zeal and hardihood of British sailors, has never been overlooked. Hence, the fierce contests for its possession, during the 17th century, between the rival powers of England and France, which were suspended by the peace of Ryswick, in 1698. Hence, the renewal of like contests, when the War of the Succession broke out, at the commencement of the 18th century; and, again, the shores and seas of Newfoundland were defiled with the blood of European nations struggling for exclusive sovereignty over them. The peace of Utrecht, in 1713, awarded that sovereignty to England; liberty being, at the same time, granted to the French to carry on their fishing on certain quarters of the coast. Still no attempt was made to establish any permanent Colony in the Island. On the contrary, every thing was done to discourage the attempt; insomuch, that, upon the renewal, immediately after the Restoration, of the merchants' Charter which had been granted in 1634, a clause was added, prohibiting any settlers being sent thither on board any of their ships. The nominal administration of the Island was entrusted to the

[31] The area of square miles of the Bermudas is stated, in the Colonial Church Atlas, to be 22, and that of Newfoundland 36,000, an extent which exceeds that of Ireland. In Mc. Culloch's Geographical Dictionary, the much larger area of 57,000 square miles is given to the latter.

Governor of Nova Scotia; the naval officer in command having the real superintendence of its affairs. The same course of conduct was continued afterwards, with the view of preserving the fisheries from interference. At the beginning, indeed, of the reign of George III., (1765,) in consequence of the seizure of some vessels, Newfoundland was recognised as one of His Majesty's Plantations, and the authority of the Navigation Laws was extended to it, in accordance with a recommendation of the Board of Trade. The recognition, however, was little more than formal. And, although the Supreme Court of Judicature, first established temporarily in 1792, was rendered permanent by Act of Parliament, early in the present century (1809); and all the coast of Labrador, as far as Hudson's Straits, together with the Island of Anticosti, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, was included in the Newfoundland government; yet, constant obstacles were thrown in the way of all British subjects not concerned in the fisheries, which prevented them from making settlements upon its coast [32].

In 1826, a better state of things was established by Royal Charter; and, under the auspices of a distinguished naval officer, the present Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, the benefit of its enactments was first extended to the Island. This was followed, in

[32] Montgomery Martin's History of the British Colonies, iii. 459—466; Bonnycastle's Newfoundland, i. 78—158; Murray's British America (Edin. Cab. Lib.), ii. 283–290. See also page 1 of the Letter of the present Earl of Ripon, then Viscount Goderich, to Sir Thomas Cochrane, Governor of Newfoundland; and the Royal Instructions which accompanied it. (See Appendix to this Volume, No. II.) The Letter is dated 27 July, 1832; and was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7 August, 1832.

1832, by the appointment of a Legislative Assembly. And thus, after the lapse of two centuries and a half after Gilbert had taken possession of Newfoundland in the name of Elizabeth, the British Parliament granted to it 'that form of constitution which generally prevails throughout the Transatlantic Colonies;' which is in accordance with 'the genius and principles of our own Government:' and 'has been brought to the test of frequent and successful experiment [33].'

But what had been going on in Newfoundland, during this long period of neglect and misrule? In spite of the many stringent statutes passed to prevent its becoming the domicile of those engaged in its fisheries, it was found that 'a Colony had gradually settled itself along the shores of the Island, and assumed a rank of no inconsiderable importance amongst the foreign possessions of the British Crown [34].' Many conflicting interests and aggravated disorders necessarily arose out of such a state of things: and a barrier was thereby raised up against the beneficial exercise of a well organized and equitable government, when it came to be applied. To prove this by reference to authentic documents, would be to anticipate the details which await examination hereafter. It is sufficient for our present purpose to shew that such was the inevitable result of the system, pursued for so many years towards this important Island.

Evil consequences resulting therefrom,

These evils are indeed formidable; but they are only a portion of those which we have to deplore. For what has been the fate of the native inhabitants of Newfoundland?

[33] Lord Goderich's Letter, ut sup. p. 2.

[34] Ib. p. 1.

There is every reason to believe that they are all exterminated. And upon whom but ourselves lies this heavy burden of guilt? It is the hand of the Englishman which has destroyed the poor defenceless savage. Vain has been the hope which the zealous Whitbourne once expressed, that the savages of Trinity harbour 'might be reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinity;' and that such conversion of them might be a most sweet and acceptable sacrifice to God, an everlasting honour to our Sovereign, 'and the heavenliest blessing to those poor creatures who' were 'buried in their own superstitions.' Vain, also, has been the earnest and simple-hearted appeal, which he addressed to his countrymen in that day, that they should 'giue furtherance towards a work so pious,' remembering that their ancestors 'were once as blind as' those savages 'in the knowledge and worship of' their 'Creator, and as rude and sauage in' their 'lives and manners.' The descendants of those savages have arisen to inhabit the land of their fathers; and we, the descendants of those merchants and mariners of England to whom such thoughts were once addressed, have swept them from the face of it. What the numbers of the Red Indians once were in Newfoundland, it is impossible now to ascertain. At first it appeared so 'destitute and desolate of inhabitance, that scarce any one sauage person' had 'in many yeeres been seene in the most parts thereof.' But, when a further knowledge was acquired of its shores, the natives were found in considerable numbers; and their hunting and fishing stations were unscrupulously seized upon by the invading English. These poor creatures, therefore, being robbed of their chief means of subsistence, were left,

Affecting both the natives

in many instances, to die of hunger; and the work of destruction was made more rapid and complete by a harassing warfare, carried on against them by the English and Micmac Indians, whom they instigated, and who had come over towards the end of the 18th century, from Cape Breton and Nova Scotia[35]. Captain Buchan, a naval officer of high character, who was employed by Sir John Duckworth, the Governor of Newfoundland, to open a communication with the Aborigines in 1810 and 1811, has stated, in his Evidence before the House of Commons, in 1836, that not less than four or five hundred of them were then living. The quantity of fences which he found had been run up by them, sometimes to the extent of thirty miles, for the purpose of conducting the deer down to the water, could only have been raised and kept in repair by great numbers of the natives. And yet, when he visited every part of the Newfoundland coast, with Sir Thomas Cochrane, in 1826 and the three following years, he could not see or hear that any natives were in existence. The last man and last woman, he believes, had been seen in March, 1823, by two of our people who had settled in a part of Notre Dame Bay, for the purpose of carrying on the furriery trade in the winter months. And no sooner did the Englishmen discover them, than they made ready their fire-arms, and, advancing from their wigwam, shot them both. Captain Buchan further declares his opinion, that no attempt had ever been made, before his time, to impart to the natives the benefits of civilization and Christianity; and that the only

[35] Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), 1837, p. 6. See also Minutes of Evidence, 4204.

effect of intercourse with Newfoundland by men professing civilization and Christianity, had been the cruel and entire extirpation of the whole body of the natives: that, 'in fact, it was considered a meritorious act, at one time, to kill an Indian;' that, 'until the time of Lord Gambier, who was Governor of the Island from the year 1802 to 1804, there had been no effort whatsoever to establish friendly intercourse with its inhabitants; and that the only attempt, made by that excellent man to open it, had failed[36].'

How dark and revolting is the picture here placed before us! It diminishes not aught of its fearful character, to be told, that, in other regions of the globe, like scenes have been witnessed; and, that, by other nations of Europe, like crimes have been committed. We are at present only concerned with ourselves, and with our shameful treatment of the most ancient foreign possession belonging to this Kingdom, of its native inhabitants, and of our own fellow-subjects who settled upon its coast. To confess that the treatment has been shameful, and not to strive, as far as in us lies, to mitigate its evil consequences, has been justly described, by one who has written with wisdom and earnestness upon the important subject of Colonization, to be little better than 'mere idle philanthropy, or the mere fulfilment of certain ceremonies by which the mind relieves itself of the sense of a debt.' The duty which should engage our attention, the same writer describes, not less truly, to be 'one, of which the consideration peculiarly requires practical and dispassionate views; while to act upon those views, requires in addition,

[36] Ib. 4192. 4227, 4228. 4211. 4230—4232.

patience under discouragement, contentment with small successes and imperfect agents, faith in sound principles, zeal without blindness, firmness without obstinacy [37].'

And settlers.

It is precisely such a spirit as this which we would desire to see animating all the counsels, and sustaining all the efforts which are directed for the benefit of Newfoundland. Let the members of our own "household of faith" consider, that, if the evils of which the outline has been here attempted to be drawn, have thus operated to the temporal disadvantage of this Colony, the spiritual ministrations of the Church therein must also have been most seriously affected by them. If the design of establishing permanent settlements upon the Island was not only discouraged, but absolutely forbidden by penalties so severe, that the ruthless decree went forth to burn the houses of all who durst venture thither, except those connected with the fisheries, and to reduce the country to a waste more dreary even than that which its first aspect presents [38],—how was it possible for the minister of the Gospel to preach the Word, or to dispense the ordinances of grace in that region? The spoiler's violence, the blasphemer's curse, the drunkard's madness, were all doing the work of Satan upon its rugged and tempestuous shore; but the power, which could alone have stayed the plague of man's wickedness, was not there. And yet, not wholly without some tokens of God's saving

[37] Merivale's Lectures on Colonization, ii. 151.

[38] This was the policy recommended by Sir Josiah Child, in 1670, the highest mercantile authority at that time, and acted upon by the Lords of Trade and Plantations. Murray's British America, ii. 283.

Attempts to remedy these by the earliest labours of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

truth, had the Englishmen who visited that Island been permitted to draw their wealth from the inexhaustible treasure-house of the deep sea. They were remembered in the prayers of some of their countrymen at home; and for their benefit, the earliest efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were made. The proof of this will be given hereafter[39]; when we relate the ministrations of Jackson and others at St. John's, of Jones at Bonavista, and of Kilpatrick in Trinity Bay, at the earlier part of the 18th century. Brief and partial as these ministrations necessarily were, they serve at least to shew the desire of the Church to do what she could to mitigate the evils which the cupidity of trade and the counsels of State policy had created; and also the desire of some who tarried upon the Island to honour the Lord their God.

In glancing at the scanty evidences, which are scattered over the remainder of the 18th century, of a kindly and earnest feeling for the spiritual welfare of Newfoundland, and of a desire to secure to its inhabitants the means of reverently celebrating the ordinances of Christ, we may not pass by unnoticed that which is supplied in the gift of our late Sovereign, William IV., to the Church at Great Placentia. That town had been the seat of government, whilst the French had possession of the Island; and was, during the war, a place of great importance, as a military post of the English. Many families, also, members of our own communion, lived in it: and two of

[39] See Vol. iii. c. xxiii.

our Missionaries, Harris and Evans, were successively stationed there. Placentia had attracted the notice of our late King, when, in early life, he was engaged in the honourable service of his profession, as an officer in the Royal Navy; and he was not slow in supplying that which he there saw wanting in the ministration of the public services of the Church. The valuable set of vessels for the celebration of the Holy Communion, which are now in the Church of that town, testify, by the inscription engraven upon them, that they were given by His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, in 1787[40].

Recent alterations, ecclesiastical and civil, in the government of Newfoundland.

I have already said, that, in 1832, the establishment of a Legislative Assembly gave to Newfoundland its proper character as a British Colony. And, as approaches to the same result had been witnessed before, by the substitution of a civil for a naval governor, and by the appointment of judicial and other officers, so the effort had been also made to extend to the inhabitants, in a distinct and authorised character, those

[40] 'Six months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal, from February to August, 1835,' p. 26. It is much to be regretted, that, owing to the altered circumstances of Placentia, and the consequent removal of a regular Missionary from the station, the benefit of this and other pious offerings of Bibles and Prayer Books for the use of the Church, was greatly impaired at the time of the writer's visit, p. 29. Much information of a valuable character may be found in the Rev. Lewis Anspach's History of Newfoundland. He was formerly a magistrate in the Island, and Missionary for the District of Conception Bay; and possessed not only the amplest means of information, but has shewn great diligence in the preparation of his materials. I have only forborne to refer to his work, lest I should be led into a relation more minute than is required for my present purpose.

spiritual advantages which they ought to have received, in all their fulness and integrity, long before. The first See, established in any of our Colonies, was that of Nova Scotia, in 1787; and Dr. Charles Inglis, whose name deserves to be held in grateful remembrance, was consecrated its first Bishop. In 1825, his son, who, as a Missionary in that country, had already trodden faithfully in the steps of his venerable father, was summoned to preside as Bishop over the same Diocese[41], and on the 10th of May, in the same year, Letters Patent were issued, constituting Newfoundland part of his Diocese. The Instructions from the Colonial Office, in 1832, point out particularly the relations thus established between Newfoundland and the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the important duties which consequently devolved upon the Governor of the former. These Instructions, so far as they relate to our present subject, are given in the Appendix to this Volume[42]; and the sacredness of the interests which it is their avowed object to uphold, is the most convincing proof of the evil which must have been created by their long neglect. If further evidence of the mournful fact be required, it is supplied in the description given of Newfoundland by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, when he proceeded to visit it as part of his Diocese. We are forbidden, indeed, by our present limits, to enter into the details of this description, or of the arduous labours which he underwent in his faithful desire to mitigate the ills he witnessed;

Made, in 1825, a part of the Diocese of Nova Scotia.

[41] A second Bishop, Dr. Robert Stanser, had intervened between Dr. Inglis and his son, and presided over the Diocese of Nova Scotia from 1816 to 1825.

[42] See Appendix, No. II.

but we trust that the record of them has been too recently brought before the public mind, and the value of that decisive testimony too gratefully acknowledged, to require a minute recital in this place [43].

Constituted a separate Diocese, in 1839, under Bishop Aubery Spencer.

Valuable as were the benefits received by Newfoundland from the watchful superintendence of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, they were yet incomplete. The Diocese, to which it belonged, required subdivision. Comprising, at that time, Nova Scotia, which possesses a larger area than that of Greece; Cape Breton, larger than South Wales; New Brunswick, nearly equal to Scotland; Prince Edward Island, exceeding in size our own county of Norfolk; Newfoundland, larger than Ireland [44]; and the Bermudas, which only can be reached, after a voyage of several hundred miles, from the nearest part of the British possessions in North America; its varied territory was evidently far too extensive to admit of proper visitation and controul. The separation, therefore, of Newfoundland and the Bermudas from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the constitution of a distinct Diocese which should embrace both of them, was much to be desired [45]. This

[43] I have found it impossible to give, in this part of my work, a condensed statement of the information respecting Newfoundland furnished in the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; but they who have carefully examined them will be the first to acknowledge their great value.

[44] See the Table of Comparative Geography, in the Colonial Church Atlas.

[45] The 'unwieldy Diocese' of Nova Scotia, as the Bishop justly designates it in his Pastoral Letter, dated Halifax, April 25, 1842, was reduced yet further, in 1845, by the constitution of New Brunswick into the separate Diocese of Fredericton.

object was happily effected, in 1839; and Dr. Aubrey Spencer, who, since 1824, had been Archdeacon of the Bermudas, was consecrated the first Bishop of this new Diocese. The increase of Churches, and Clergy, and Schools, which has taken place in Newfoundland since that period, is only one out of the many instances, to be seen every where, of the palpable and direct advantages which uniformly follow the establishment of Colonial Sees, and which afford one of the strongest arguments in favor of their speedy extension [46].

Although I am here giving a very general and imperfect summary of the condition of Newfoundland, and her claims upon England's sympathy, it is impossible to pass by unnoticed the exertions of a Society which, since the year 1823, was engaged in the work of supplying the children of its poor inhabitants with the means of Christian education. To Mr. Samuel Codner, a New-

The Newfoundland School Society.

[46] The following report of Bishop Spencer supplies proof of the above statement:—'At my consecration to the See of Newfoundland, I found only eight Clergymen of the Church of England in the whole Colony; the Church itself in a most disorganized and dispirited condition; the Schools languishing, many of them broken up, and all destitute of that spirit of unity and order so essential to their real efficiency. I am very thankful that I have been permitted, within the short space of two years, to remedy some of these evils, and to supply the most craving of their deficiencies. Twenty-five Clergymen, with readers and schoolmasters under them; Sunday Schools every where revived and originated; a theological seminary of future Missionaries established at the capital; the erection of more than twenty new Churches, and the extension and repair of many buildings already consecrated to Divine Worship—these are the means which, under the Divine blessing, I now possess for the propagation of the Gospel, and which I humbly trust will be blessed to the success of His cause.' Bonnycastle's Newfoundland, ii. 103.

foundland merchant, its formation is to be ascribed; and his personal exertions have never been wanting to uphold and promote its efficiency. The Government of this country also answered the appeals addressed to it on behalf of the Society; evidence of which is to be found, not only in the personal support of the Earl of Liverpool, at that time Prime Minister, and of the Earl of Bathurst, and other Secretaries of State for the Colonies, but also in the facilities of a free passage to the Island, which have been afforded to its Teachers, and in the grants of land and advances of money which the local authorities have been instructed to make in furtherance of its objects. These objects have to a great extent been realised. The Teachers,—who, according to the rules of the Society, are to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to conduct the Schools, as far as circumstances may permit, on Dr. Bell's system,—have been faithful and efficient; and testimonies the most unequivocal, have been given from every quarter, demonstrating the value of their services. In 1839, the Society extended its operation to the Diocese of Montreal, with the sanction of the Bishop; and there, as in Newfoundland, the fidelity and usefulness of its Teachers have been amply proved.

On the 1st of January, 1851, the Society became united with the Colonial Church and School Society; receiving thereby a fresh accession of strength toward the prosecution of its own work, and enabling other fellow-labourers to apply themselves more strenuously to kindred works in other dependencies of the British empire.

Thankful as we ought to be for any instrument of help which has been extended to Newfoundland in

her distress, it is evident that many more are needed; and that even the help now acknowledged has not been altogether derived from the sources which should have furnished it. The poor of the flock of Christ ought not to have been suffered to remain in the condition in which the Newfoundland School Society found them. The Church ought not thus to have left it to the zeal of individual members, to have supplied her own lack of service. And yet, what means had she properly possessed, of executing the high office committed to her charge, in this most ancient possession of the British Crown? To have planted a permanent settlement upon its shores would have been, in earlier years, to contravene the law. Her Ministers were constrained to be as migratory as the fishermen with whom they went and returned. Where, then, could a resting-place be found for truth?

The present claims of Newfoundland on our sympathy.

If these causes of evil have been now removed, and the opportunity be at length extended to the Church to shew forth her Master's glory in that land, assuredly, necessity is laid upon her, yea, woe be unto her! if she improve it not unto the uttermost. True, there are peculiar difficulties which must impede her progress; difficulties, arising, on the one hand, from the nature of the country, and, on the other, from the religious differences which subsist among its population. From causes which have operated, more or less, ever since Calvert first induced members of the Church of Rome to resort to the Island, emigrants of the same communion, chiefly from Ireland, have chosen it for their abode. They comprise, at the present time, somewhat more than half of the whole population. A con-

siderable proportion of the remainder are members of the Church of Scotland, or of Dissenting bodies, of whom the Wesleyans are the most important. It is, therefore, no ordinary demand, made upon the faith, watchfulness, wisdom, and patience, of our brethren in this Island; no ordinary claim, which the circumstances of their position present upon the sympathy, the prayers, the support of ourselves at home. May the claim be listened to! May he, who is now appointed to be the pastor and overseer of this portion of the flock of Christ, and who has already expressed his joy at beholding the "order" of his Clergy "and the stedfastness of their faith in Christ[47]," be cheered by a continuance of the same support! May he feel, too, that his hands are strengthened by the friends whom he has left in England, and who "esteem" him "very highly in love for his work's sake[48]!" Bishop Feild.

The attempts which England made towards Colonization, under James I., were mainly towards the west and north-west; and several points of interest, connected with the progress of the work in that direction, remain yet to be noticed, before I can recount the enterprises, undertaken in other quarters of the globe and in the time of his successors.

The most important of these were the voyages of Hudson. The first was 'set forth at the charge of certaine Worshipfull Merchants of London, in May, 1607;' and the first line of his Hudson's voyages.

[47] With these words of the Apostle (Col. ii. 5) the present Bishop Feild closes the Dedication of his first Charge to his Clergy.

[48] 1 Thess. v. 13.

Journal shews the religious feeling by which he and his company were animated. The reader will be reminded by it of a similar evidence which has been noticed in the case of Frobisher[49]; and will see, in both instances, that the strength of the English adventurer was sustained, as he went forth to deeds of daring enterprise, and his spirit was refreshed, by the prayers and ordinances of the Church. The passage runs thus:

'Anno 1607, Aprill the nineteenth, at Saint Ethelburga, in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the Parishioners these persons, Seamen, purposing to goe to Sea foure days after, to discouer a Passage by the North Pole to Iapan and China[50].'

The particulars of this voyage, and those of the second and third, which Hudson renewed in the years 1608 and 1609, are still extant, and will be found full of interest; but it is impossible now to dwell upon them. It should be remembered, however, that Hudson's third voyage was undertaken, not, as the two former had been, at the charge of the English Russia Company, but of the Dutch East India Company. The course which he then pursued was, in the first instance, towards the north-east: and having failed to find an opening in that direction, he sailed westward, by Newfoundland, to the American continent; and, by the search which he then made of a great portion of its coast, associated his name for ever with one of its noblest rivers, and opened a way for the introduction of the commerce and power of the Dutch into the New World. His fourth voyage was his last. The vessel which he then commanded was once more fitted

[49] See pp. 81, 82, *ante*.

[50] Purchas, iii. 567.

out by the merchants of London, and set out upon her voyage at the end of April, 1610. Passing the coast of Iceland, where he saw Mount Hecla casting out its flames,—'a signe of foule weather to come in short time,'—and thence, having doubled the southern Cape of Greenland, Hudson proceeded, in a north-westerly course, through those Straits which now bear his name. He then shewed his ship's company 'by his card, that hee was entred aboue an hundred leagues further than euer any English was;' and, pursuing his way contrary to the wishes of many of the crew, entered that extensive Bay, which also retains the name of its discoverer and has extended it to one of the most important, and enterprising, and prosperous commercial bodies of the present day, the Hudson's Bay Company. Whatsoever may have been the hopes kindled within Hudson's mind by this discovery, they soon perished with himself. The mutinous spirit, which had long been working in some of his people, at length broke out; and, in spite of all remonstrance and resistance, he and eight others, including his son, were seized and put into the shallop belonging to their ship, and turned adrift, and heard of no more. The murderous conspirators soon experienced, from the hands of the savage natives of the coast, a death as miserable as that which they had inflicted upon their gallant chief; and a wretched remnant of the crew, some months afterwards, returned to England [51].

Bylot's and Baffin's voyages in 1615 and 1616.

The failure of these enterprises did but stimulate Englishmen to the renewal of more. The most important of these were the voyages, again undertaken at the charge

[51] Ib. 596—609.

of the English Russia Company, by Bylot and Baffin, in the years 1615 and 1616. In the first, they attempted to prosecute their discoveries through Hudson's Straits; an attempt, which proved utterly abortive. In the second, they were directed to pursue a course due north, through Davis's Straits; and, obeying those instructions, discovered a wide expanse of sea, together with many creeks and islands. But, in the end, Baffin was convinced that the sea was closed in on every side by land and impenetrable ice, and that no opening to the north or north-west could be found. The name of Baffin's Bay remains, to this day, a witness of the zeal and perseverance of the navigator who then explored it [52].

Carrying on our attention now to those provinces of the mainland of America, which lie immediately to the south of the Straits and Bays last spoken of, and which bear the names of Labrador, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, we are reminded of the fact already stated, that these were the regions first visited by Cabot, under the Charter of Henry VII. But other European nations speedily followed the English, in exploring these coasts, and making partial and temporary settlements upon them. Portugal, for instance, in the person of Gasper de Cortereal, sought to lay her grasp upon the first of the above-named provinces. An old map published at Rome, in 1508, designates it by his name, Terra Corterealis. Its present name of Labrador may be regarded as bearing witness to the tyranny and cupidity of the Portuguese mariner, who, seeing that its natives were fitted to endure hard labour, carried many of them off by vio-

[52] Ib. 836—848.

lence to his own country, and called the land from which he had taken them, the land of the labouring slave, Terra de Laborador[53].

Some of the regions then visited interesting as the future residence of Moravian Missionaries.

The lands and seas of the frozen north here spoken of are directly associated with the object of this work. The zeal and piety of the Moravians, at a later period than that now under review, would alone make the names of Greenland and Labrador precious in our eyes. They have long since set up tokens of their heavenly Master's victory in those inclement regions, and, after harassing delays and painful toil, have realised the fair visions present to the minds of those who made their first dwelling in Hoffenthal, 'the valley of hope[54].' The circumstances which led them thither, and which were themselves preceded by the hearty sympathy and support which they received from our own Archbishops and Bishops, towards the end of the 17th and in the beginning of the 18th centuries, will be noticed more particularly hereafter. But I could not even now glance at this one field of the Moravians' conflict and the Moravians' triumph,—and it is but one of many,—without acknowledging, by anticipation, the services of these holy men. Let us add also with gratitude that the Bishops and Clergy of our Church have, in later years, entered into a portion of the same territory, and are now seen prosecuting their pious labour with a diligence and success inferior to none of those who have preceded them.

The countries south of Labrador, now called Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, I have said, had

[53] Tytler's Historical View, &c. ut sup. 34—37.

[54] Cranz's History of the United Brethren, pp. 404, 405. (London, 1780.)

been claimed by France long before the settlement of Virginia by the English under James I. The names of the rivers, gulfs, straits, islands, and promontories of those deeply indented shores, are, in most instances, the same which were imposed upon them by kings, and nobles, and mariners of the French nation. That priority of claim, we have seen, had been set at nought by the English; and Argall, in 1613, attacked and plundered, without scruple, the French settlements in Acadie and other places, regarding them as encroachments upon the territory marked out in the North Virginia Charter.

Nova Scotia assigned in 1621, by Royal Patent, to Sir William Alexander.

The aggression was not repelled; neither was any redress then sought for. The English monarch still acted, as if he were the sole disposer of every part of the American continent lying between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude; and, in 1621, assigned by Patent to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, the whole of the country lying eastward of a line drawn north to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from the river St. Croix. To this country, including the province now called New Brunswick [55], the name of Nova Scotia was then given. The Patent conferred upon its possessors rights and privileges scarcely inferior to those of royalty itself. The only reservation made to the Crown was a tenth part of the gold and silver ore which might be dug out of the mines of Nova Scotia, and a duty of 5 per cent. to be levied, after the lapse of thirteen years, upon all exports and imports. The high and holy purposes, ever to be kept

[55] The separation between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was not made until 1785.

in view by the extension of the Christian name, are distinctly avowed in this, as in former Charters; and to Sir William Alexander was delegated the trust of appointing not only to civil, naval, and military, but also to ecclesiastical offices. It is impossible to say how far this last enactment,—which may be regarded, in one sense, as a witness to the necessity of securing to our Colonies the spiritual birthright of their Mother country,—is to be considered as an index of the zeal and faithfulness of him to whom the trust was committed; for no opportunity of exercising it was afforded to him, during James's reign. He set out, indeed, towards the end of 1622, to visit the new possessions assigned to him; but was compelled to pass the following winter in Newfoundland. And, although in the next summer he proceeded to Nova Scotia, he did nothing more than explore a portion of its coast, and refrained from any attempt to establish a Colony upon it [56].

The next province which claims our regard is that assigned to the North Virginia Company, under James's Charter of 1606. The parties, therein authorised to plant a settlement within the limits prescribed,—namely, Hanham, Gilbert, Parker, Popham, and others of the towns of Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter,—were not slow to exercise the powers thus conveyed to them. Chief Justice Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, two of its most influential members, immediately sent out two vessels to explore the land. The first, under the command of Challons, was taken and confiscated by the Spaniards; the second, under the command of

[56] Hazard's Hist. Coll. i. 135; Purchas, 1871.

Hanham, brought back a most encouraging report. Whereupon, it is said,

The unsuccessful settlement of the Plymouth Company at Sagadahoc.

'The Lord Chiefe Justice and all waxed so confident of the businesse, that the yeere following, euery man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to ioyne in the charge for the sending ouer a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopefull Plantation.'

The conduct of it was entrusted to George Popham and Rawley Gilbert, a son, probably, of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and nephew of Sir Walter Ralegh [57]. None of the original narratives supply the name of the Clergyman who accompanied this expedition. But that a Clergyman did accompany it, there can be no doubt; for, after reaching the Sagadahoc,—a western branch of the Kennebec, and the largest river in the present province of Maine,—the adventurers resolved to settle upon a peninsula at its mouth; and a Sermon was preached to them upon landing [58]. The Patent, under which they were to act, was then read; and a storehouse built and fortified, which they called Fort St. George. Calamities, heavy and numerous, speedily overwhelmed the infant Colony. The winter was most severe, the country wild and barren, their storehouse was destroyed by fire, their President died, the first vessels which came with supplies from England brought news that the Chief Justice was also dead; and, disheartened by these adversities, the survivors abandoned their enterprise, and returned to England in 1608.

[57] Purchas, iv. 1827; Chalmers's Political Annals, 79; Harlow's narrative in Smith's New England, 204.

[58] Belknap, in Holmes's American Annals, i. 132.

No attempt worthy of record was made, for six years afterwards, to revisit a country which the holders of the Charter looked upon 'as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desart.' But they still regarded it as their own possession; and hence the efforts of Argall to dislodge the French from the settlements established by them, during that interval, upon the same coast [59]. At length, in 1614, John Smith, whose name is so illustrious as the early governor and chronicler of Virginia, went forth, at the charge of four persons in London, and explored the whole coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. He returned at the end of six months; having 'drawne,' as he tells us, 'a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-Markes, as' he 'passed close aboord the shore in a little Boat [60].' Smith's map is still extant, and prefixed to his history of the country, and, like that of Virginia, already spoken of, bears testimony to his great ability, accuracy, and perseverance. The coast which it represents is about three degrees in extent, and now forms the eastern boundary of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. To the whole of this coast and the adjoining territory, Smith gave the title of New England, and obtained the confirmation of it from Prince Charles. He was indignant that the name of New England, chosen by him, should be 'drowned with the eccho of Cannaday,' and other titles, invented by former mariners; and, accordingly, he says,

Smith explores the adjoining coast.

The country called New England.

'I presented this Discourse, with the Map, to our most gracious

[59] See p. 248, *ante*, and Purchas, iv. 1828.

[60] Smith's History, ut sup. p. 207.

Prince Charles, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince Charles was their God-father [61].'

Whilst Smith was thus endeavouring to spread information, and to create an interest, with respect to New England, his work was greatly hindered by an outrage which one of the commanders of the vessels, left upon that coast, committed, in his absence, against the natives. The name of the commander was Thomas Hunt; and Smith relates that he

'betraied foure and twenty of these poore Saluages aboord his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanely for their vsage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little priuate gaine, sold these silly Saluages for Rials of eight: but this wilde act kept him euer after from any more imploiement to these parts.'

One of these poor slaves made his way from Spain to England, and, thence returning to his native

[61] Ib. 205. Among the various names mentioned in the schedule which is given in the above passage, occurs that of Tragabigsanda, which Smith had given to the north-east promontory of Massachusetts Bay. This strange title was selected in memory of the Turkish lady whose slave Smith had once been (p. 212). But this name was changed by Prince Charles to Cape Ann, in honour of his mother: 'neither of them,' it is said, 'glorying in these Mahometan titles' (Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. quoted in Holmes's American Annals, i. 151.) The name of Cape Ann remains to this day. The same immortality has not followed the name then assigned to the opposite promontory of Massachusetts Bay, namely, Cape James, in honour of the English King. It is so designated in Smith's Map; but the name of Cape Cod, given to it by Gosnold, the first Englishman who explored this part of the coast (p. 194), has still been preserved. And, so far, Cotton Mather's words are verified, who supposes that the promontory 'will never lose this name, till shoals of Cod Fish be seen swimming upon the tops of its highest hills.' Magn. Christ. Amer. p. 3.

country, became afterwards an interpreter and valuable assistant to the English settlers. So far, the outrage of which Hunt was guilty was overruled for good; but the remembrance of it caused the minds of the natives for a long time to be evil-affected towards the strangers who set foot upon their shores.

Abortive attempt of the Plymouth Company to colonise it under Smith.

Smith was still unwearied in the prosecution of his design. Notwithstanding that the Patent of the Plymouth Company seemed 'dead,' and the country allotted to them under its authority was 'unregarded,' and tempting offers of employment were made to him by the supporters of the Virginia Colony, he felt himself still bound to go on with the New England enterprise. But obstacle after obstacle arose to check his progress. The ships and men, which the Company, after much entreaty, promised to provide for him, were not ready at the time appointed. And when, after 'a labyrinth of trouble,' he set out, in 1615, with two vessels, and instructions to begin a settlement in New England, with a handful of men only sixteen in number, he was first beaten back by storms; and, upon renewing his voyage, fell in with some French pirates, who seized his ship. After passing some months as a prisoner in their hands, and witnessing various captures which they made, he at length escaped from them, as they were on their return to France, by trusting himself in a dark and stormy night to a small open boat, in which he drifted to the coast near Rochelle. Thence making his way to England, he resumed his efforts as cheerfully as if all had prospered with him.

His History of New England.

The following passage may be regarded as a specimen of the honest, enthusiastic,

zeal with which Smith sought to stir up his countrymen to that which he believed to be a deed of manly and lawful enterprise.

'Who can desire more content,' he asks, 'that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to aduance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If hee haue but the taste and vertue of magnanimity, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant then planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his owne industry, without prejudice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse full [of] hurt to any, or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert these poore Saluages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paine? What so truly sutes with honour and honesty as the discouering things unknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching vertue and gaine to our natiue mother Country, a Kingdome to attend her, finde imploiement for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe; so farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? Consider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule: what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother city? For example: Rome, what made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the iustice and iudgement out of their experiences when they grew aged? What was their ruine and hurt but this, the excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of parents, the want of experience in Maiestrates, the admiration of their vndeserved honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealousies, their politike incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? Finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many yeeres they lost in a few daies: those by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the vse of armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; the golden age and the leaden age; prosperity and misery; iustice and corruption; substance and shadows; words and deeds; experience

and imagination making commonweales, and marring commonweales; the fruits of vertue, and the conclusions of vice.'

He then proceeds, in a strain of lofty rebuke, to expose the folly and wickedness of him who lives

'at home idly, onely to eat, drinke, and sleepe, and so die; or by consuming that carelessly his friends got worthily; or by vsing that miserably that maintained vertue honestly;' and adds, 'I would be sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning; for I wish good to all: but rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life.'—'My purpose,' he declares in another place, 'is not to perswade children from their parents, men from their wiues, nor seruants from their masters; onely such as with free consent may bee spared: but that each Parish, or Village, in Citie or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children of thirteene or fourteene yeares of age, or young married people that haue small wealth to liue on, here by their labour may liue exceeding well. Prouided alwaies, that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defende them, and meet prouisions for them: for any place may be ouer-laine.'

His description of the industry and greatness of Holland.

The reference, which Smith makes to the commercial prosperity of Holland at that period, is worthy of notice, as the testimony of one who was an eye-witness of the zeal and industry of that nation; and who strove to lead his countrymen to profit by her example. It is suggested to him by the description, which he had given in his Discourse, of the rich fisheries, open to the English, off the coasts of North America and Newfoundland.

'It may seeme,' he says, 'a meane and a base commoditie; yet who will but truly take the paines, and consider the sequell, I thinke, will allow it well worth the labour.—Who doth not know the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and indus-

trious, and by vending this poore Commoditie to the Easterlings for wood, flax, pitch, tarre, rozen, cordage, and such like; which they exchange againe to the French, Spaniards, Portugals, and English, &c. for what they want, are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but Venice of twice their magnitude is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping, and all sorts of merchandise, as well of gold, siluer, pearles, diamonds, pretious stones, silks, Veluets, and cloth of gold? What voiages, and discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea, about the world, make they? What an army by sea and land haue they long maintained, in despight of one of the greatest Princes of the world? And neuer could the Spaniard, with all his mines of gold and silver, pay his debts so truly as the Hollanders still haue done by this contemptible trade of fish. Diuers (I know) may alleage many other assistances; but this is the chiefest Mine; and the Sea the source of those siluer streames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the onely paterne of perfection for those affaires[62].'

Many other examples are brought forward by Smith from the enterprises undertaken by Spain and Portugal; and the interweaving of these historical references with his own narrative of facts, and with his soul-stirring exhortations to his countrymen to sustain and carry onwards the work unto which he summoned them, gives to his treatise a depth and variety of interest which it were difficult, if not impossible, to find in any similar work of that day.

Fresh Charter to Plymouth Company not available.

The representations of Smith led to the granting of a new Charter to the Plymouth Company by James, November 3, 1620. But it conferred upon them rights and immunities so extravagant as to excite the opposition of Parliament, and defeat the very object which its members wished to secure[63].

[62] Ib. 205—227.

[63] Hazard's Hist. Coll. i. 103; Chalmers, ut sup. 83.

First Settlement of Puritans in New England.

Meanwhile, New England was about to be seized by men who possessed no share in the privileges intended to be conveyed by this instrument. Some members of the Puritan body had found, for many years, in Holland, a refuge from the persecution which had driven them forth from home. Their minister, Mr. John Robinson, in early life had been 'sowred,' as Cotton Mather acknowledges, 'with the principles of the most rigid Separation.' His opinions, it is said, were afterwards modified; and he is generally considered as having formed the system of the Independents, to which Browne had led the way [64]. Amsterdam had first afforded a place of settlement for him and his followers, for the space of two years; but, in 1609, they removed to Leyden. Here too, they were subject to many evils; to incessant toil, and exposure to sickness; to the dissipated habits of the Dutch; to the apprehension of war with Spain. They were compelled therefore to turn their thoughts elsewhere; and, in 1617, resolved to seek a resting-place in Virginia. Agents were despatched to London, for the purpose of obtaining leave to settle in that province: and, after many disappointments, succeeded in obtaining a Patent granted and confirmed under the seal of the Virginia Company. Their first application appears to have been made in 1617; but it was not until 1619 that the Patent was obtained [65]. It will be remembered that

A Charter granted them by the

[64] Cotton Mather's Magn. Christ. Amer. 5; Neal's History of the Puritans, i. 423. Holmes, in his American Annals, has taken much pains to shew that Robinson was free from some of the extravagancies of the Brownists, i. 412.

[65] Holmes's American Annals, i. 163. He states that this Patent

Virginia Company.

Sir Edwin Sandys, and John and Nicholas Ferrar, were the chief officers by whom the affairs of Virginia were administered at that time. It deserves, therefore, to be carefully noted, that, if intolerance were the reproach of the Church in that day, there were those among her members, second to none for their piety and zeal, who proved themselves guiltless of it. It is the more necessary to observe this fact, since, among many of the Puritan historians, there is an unwillingness fully to acknowledge it; and, by others, it is altogether omitted[66].

Upon the strength of the encouragement thus afforded them, the followers of Robinson at Leyden made the necessary preparation for their departure; took leave of their affectionate pastor with many

'was never used, because it was taken out in the name of a gentleman who, though at that time designing to accompany the Leyden congregation, was providentially prevented.' Bancroft also declares that it 'was never of the least service,' i. 305. Nevertheless, this Patent must have been the sole encouragement for the Leyden emigrants to proceed; for Holmes distinctly adds, that it was 'carried to that city for the consideration of the people, with several proposals from English merchants and friends for their transportation,' and that 'they were requested to prepare immediately for their voyage.' See also a Tract, entitled, 'A Battell in New England,' London, 1637, p. 2.

[66] Cotton Mather is led into the error of saying that it was in New England, and not Virginia, that the emigrants of Leyden intended to settle; and that they had received authority to do this from the Plymouth Company. p. 6, ut sup.

This statement is repeated in a review of Bancroft's History, entitled, 'The Pilgrim Fathers,' which appeared in the first number of the British Quarterly Review, and has since been republished, with other Essays on History, &c. by its author, Dr. Vaughan. A more careful examination of Bancroft's narrative would have shewn his reviewer that Bancroft does not give any authority for such a statement, and certainly has not himself adopted it.

prayers and tears; repaired to England; and, after many difficulties and delays, sailed finally from Plymouth, September 6, 1620, on board the Mayflower. The first land which they discovered was Cape Cod. Finding that this promontory was in the 42nd degree of north latitude, and therefore beyond the limits assigned to the Virginia Company, they resolved at first to proceed southwards; but,—either through fear of danger in coasting along an untried shore, or the counsel of the pilot, who was bribed, as some think, to keep the Englishmen from approaching too near the settlements of the Dutch,—they returned, and dropped anchor in the harbour of Cape Cod.

They land in the territory of the Plymouth Company.

Before they landed, they drew up and signed the following remarkable document:

Their covenant before landing.

'In the name of God. Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern parts of Virginia; Do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: And by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience[67].'

This document bears date November 11, 1620; and was signed by all the men of the party, forty-one

[67] Hazard's Hist. Coll. i. 119.

in number. Their wives and children amounted, with themselves, to the number of one hundred. The first name on the list is that of John Carver, who was chosen Governor for one year. Before we trace the outline of their proceedings, the character of that covenant, by which they agreed to be governed, demands attention. They acknowledged therein 'that England was their country; that James was their Sovereign; and that they were his 'loyal subjects.' But, did it not follow, as a necessary corollary from such propositions, that the laws of their country and the authority of their King was still binding upon them? Did their removal across the Atlantic destroy their birthright as English citizens, or change the character of their allegiance? Again, was not the very coast which then lay before them already the property of others, their countrymen, more numerous than themselves, to whom it had been assigned by an authority whose competency they confessed? The rights of the Aborigines need not now enter into the question; for, if those rights had been fully admitted by the emigrants of Leyden, it is clear that they ought not to have entertained the design of settling upon their coast, unasked. The rights of their brother-Englishmen were the prominent objects involved in the enterprise upon which they were about to enter, and the question which demanded their consideration was, by what authority they entered into their territory; set up an order of government, which might be converted to their prejudice; and claimed the exercise of prerogatives, which belonged only to the supreme legislature of their native country[68]?

[68] Chalmers, ut sup. 86.

Considerations thereon.

It is true, that the Plymouth Company did not resist the encroachment thus made upon their borders. Their own slowness to act, and their divisions and disputes at home, induced them to remain at first indifferent spectators of the enterprise; and, afterwards, when it gathered strength, they found it convenient to enter into amicable relations with its promoters. But this was a contingency, which cannot make right that which in itself was wrong, or convert an usurpation into a lawful act. The piety of the Puritans was, doubtless, most sincere; their zeal, ardent; their constancy, unshaken; their sufferings, such as call forth the language of just and severest reprobation against their persecutors. Hence, a bright halo surrounds the persons of 'The Pilgrim Fathers,' which hinders the spectator, oftentimes, from seeing any other objects than those which poets and historians have described as the triumphs of their martyrdom. But men are not infallible, because they have been persecuted; neither is the oppressed man, when free from the grasp of the oppressor, free always from those vices against which he has so loudly lifted up his voice. The subsequent conduct of the Puritans of New England shews that their counsels were frequently animated by a spirit as tyrannical and unsparing as any that distinguished those of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. And I cannot but think that the germ of this rigorous despotism is to be found in the terms of independence and lordly rule, which characterise their first and self-constituted order of government. It recognised no other law than that which they might be pleased to think just and equal; and referred to no other standard than

that of their own judgment. Intolerance, therefore, became inevitable.

Inaccurate description by Bancroft of the conduct of the Puritan settlers.

It is difficult to understand the process by which Bancroft has said, respecting the Puritan Settlers of New England, that

'their residence in Holland had made them acquainted with various forms of Christianity; a wide experience had emancipated them from bigotry; and they were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution; though they sometimes permitted a disproportion between punishment and crime.'

The inaccuracy of this statement will appear hereafter. Let it suffice, at present, to remark that Bancroft himself has signally exposed its fallacy in the account which he gives of the expulsion, a few years afterwards (1629), of two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, members of the Colonial Council of Massachusetts, upon no other ground than that they had 'gathered a company in which "the Common Prayer worship" was upheld.' The Colonists were determined, he says, that 'the very purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic' should not be given up; that 'the hierarchy' should not 'intrude on their devotions in the forests of Massachusetts;' and that 'they deemed the existence of their liberty and of prelacy impossible.'

'The adherents of Episcopacy,' he adds, therefore, 'were in their turn rebuked as separatists; their plea was reproved as sedition, their worship forbidden as a mutiny; while the Brownes, who could not be terrified into silence, were seized like criminals, and in the returning ships were transported to England. They were banished from Salem because they were Churchmen. Thus was Episcopacy first professed in Massachusetts, and thus was it exiled. The blessings of the promised land were to be kept for the Puritanic dissenters.'

Yet these were the men of whom Bancroft declares, in the passage already cited, that they 'were never betrayed into the excesses of a religious persecution;' and whose covenant he describes, even in the page preceding that which has recorded such gross tyranny, as

'cherishing the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. It was an act of piety,' he says, 'not of study; it favored virtue, not superstition; inquiry, and not submission. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots [69].'

Can any representation be more inconsistent than this? or any defence of religious persecution be supported by more monstrous arguments? If these be the fruits of Independence, these the graces of religious freedom, wherein were the cruel counsels of St. Dominic or Torquemada to be blamed [70].

[69] Bancroft's History, &c. 322. 348—350. I have noticed this misstatement of Bancroft, because I observe that Dr. Vaughan, in the Essays before referred to, i. 46, has adopted it, without any qualification, as 'the testimony of' one, 'whose work on this interesting department of modern history, is the most authentic and able in our language. But 'this result,' Dr. Vaughan adds, 'so little to have been expected in those times, may be traced to the personal character of Robinson, fully as much as to residence in Holland,' p. 35. A much wider range of observation ought to have been taken by the Reviewer of Dr. Bancroft, before he pronounced such a judgment. Dr. Vaughan shews no ordinary power of description in relating the severities inflicted upon the Puritans under Elizabeth; the dangers of the voyage across the Atlantic; the hardships and difficulties of their first settlement in America. I regret that he should not only have passed over in total silence the fact of their own persecuting spirit, but, that, sheltering himself under the authority of Bancroft, he should have made it appear that they were wholly guiltless of it.

[70] Since writing the above, I find it stated in the valuable Volume of Sermons, &c. published by Bishop Doane of New Jersey, at the end of a note to the fifteenth sermon, p. 461, in which he had very

Their early progress.

It is evident that no room was left for the Church of England to send forth her sons to the Bay of Massachusetts, when men, animated with such a spirit of bitter hostility against her, were exploring its harbours, making treaties with its native chiefs, and laying the foundation of its future towns. Their progress was slow and painful; but their perseverance never failed. From the day on which they set their first footsteps upon the rock, at the place on which now stands the town of Plymouth [71], they persevered in faith and patience. Their numbers were thinned by sickness, and cold, and hard fare; but other brethren joined them, in small and straggling companies; and so the work went on. Before the end of the reign of James I. they had extended their range of enterprise from Cape Cod, where they first landed, along the whole Bay of Massachusetts to Cape Ann, the opposite promontory. Thence they had proceeded northwards as far as

properly exposed the inconsistency of Bancroft's representations, that a copy of the Sermon (preached at Elizabeth Town, December 31, 1840,) had been sent to that historian, and that the Bishop had been informed that he had since corrected his narrative in this respect. I have not been able to ascertain the correctness of this report. In the edition (the ninth) of Bancroft, which now lies before me, and which was reprinted in London by Murray, in 1842, the narrative certainly remains as it was.

It is a just remark of Hallam, applied by him to the early Reformers, but equally applicable to the persons here spoken of, that, 'in men hardly escaped from a similar peril, in men who had nothing to plead but the right of private judgment, in men who had defied the prescriptive authority of past ages and of established power, the crime of persecution assumes a far deeper hue, and is capable of far less extenuation, than in a Roman inquisitor.' Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 132.

[71] Holmes's Amer. Ann. i. 170.

the Kennebec; and, towards the south, they had marked out settlements upon the banks of the Connecticut [72].

Abortive attempt of Gorges and Morrell to extend the influence of the Church of England to that Colony.

The only attempt made during this period by the Plymouth Company in England, to occupy any portion of the territory over which others of their countrymen were extending their search, and to set up within its borders, in the face of every discouragement, any token of the ministrations of our own Church, was that under Robert Gorges, and the Rev. William Morrell. The former, a son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, received a Patent in 1623, constituting him Governor of a certain portion of land in the Bay of Massachusetts, called Messachusiack, which comprised an extent of ten miles along the coast, and thirty miles inland, and the islands lying within three miles of the same. The latter was a Clergyman who accompanied Gorges, and was entrusted with a commission from the ecclesiastical courts of this kingdom, to exercise a kind of superintendence over the Churches which were, or might be, established in New England. The enterprise altogether failed. Gorges appears to have been a man utterly devoid of the energy and perseverance required for such a work; and had scarcely set foot upon the shore, before he returned to England. Morrell remained about a year longer, collecting such information as he could; but, alone, in a strange land, and amid a strange people, it cannot be matter of astonishment to find, that, at the expiration of that

[72] Bancroft's History, &c. i. 321.

period, he should have been compelled to retire, baffled and discomfited [73].

I turn away, with feelings of sorrow and humiliation, from contemplating such records; for it shews what a bitter harvest of resistance and of strife had sprung up from the evil seed of persecution sown in preceding years. The Church of England found herself shorn of her strength, at the very moment in which a door was opened for the extension of it in a most important territory of the New World. She had cast out her children from her, with a violence which assuredly none dare palliate; and, lo! they now stood, with scowling brows, and sturdy arms, ready to repel her from the shore which they had made their refuge.

Other portions of the globe now demand our attention, which, during the reign of James I., were made subject to the British Crown, or became the scenes of British enterprise. The notice of them must be brief; for they do not immediately supply any important materials towards our present work. But the consequences which have resulted from the relations of England with those countries are most important; their influence is felt to this day: the history, therefore, of their commencement and progress cannot be wholly omitted.

Ralegh's

And, first, let us glance at Guiana, that

[73] Hazard, i. 152; Holmes's Amer. Ann. i. 188. The only result of Morrell's enquiries, which remains to the present day, is a Latin poem of his, descriptive of the country, and preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 125—189. Bancroft calls it 'a dull poem,' i. 326; but Holmes speaks of it in terms of commendation. Ib.

province of South America lying between the Rivers Amazon and Orinoco, which was the scene of Ralegh's latest expedition. We have already traced his various efforts to colonise Virginia, and have seen that they ended, in 1589, by his transferring to a Company of merchants all the rights which he had received from Elizabeth over that province; and accompanying that act with a donation 'for the propagation of the Christian religion,' in that portion of the New World[74]. The Patent, by which he went forth for the last time to Guiana, is dated August 26, 1616; and contains the profession, which has been noticed in other Charters, of a desire to propagate 'the Christian Faith and Reformed Religion amongst the savage and idolatrous people;' and also the provision, that 'the Statutes, Ordinances, and proceedings' appointed by Ralegh in the new Colony, should, 'as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of this our realm of England, and not against the true Christian Faith now professed in the Church of England[75]. Guiana had been, for many years, regarded as a treasure-house of wealth; its rocks were represented as streaked with gold; gold sparkled upon its sands; gold also was the dust, thrown over the persons of its princes and priests in sacrifice; and its city, rising up amid the transparent waters of a lake, shot forth a dazzling brightness from its roofs of gold. Such was the fabled grandeur of El Dorado. Ralegh's footsteps had been directed thither, soon after he had relinquished the Virginia

Patent to colonise Guiana in 1617.

[74] See pp. 176, 177, *ante*.

[75] Rymer's Fœd. xvii. 789; Hazard's Hist. Coll. i. 82—85; Harleian Miscellany, iii. 19—22.

scheme, and his own account, still extant, of its varied wonders, shews how eager he was to realise all that his imagination had pictured to itself. After the lapse of more than twenty years, he set out again, for the last time, to that same coast [76].

And by what eventful circumstances had this interval in his career been marked! Deeds of military and naval prowess, distinguished for their daring character, even in an age conspicuous above most others for them; the brilliant, but delusive, gaieties of an ardent spirit; the pursuits of science; the duties of the senate; the sunshine of a court, followed by its darkest frowns; the charge of treason; trial, condemnation, imprisonment; a mind notwithstanding free, and stamping immortality upon its hours of solitude by the composition of that great work, the History of the World, which attracted the admiration of the good and faithful in that day [77], and, surviving the detractions of false criticism, has retained their suffrages in our own: these had been the materials which formed the chequered web of Ralegh's life. And these were but the preludes to that expedition to Guiana, the prospect of which had cheered him even in his darkest vicissitudes, and upon which he now entered, only to see every hope break under him. His son was slain; his enterprise was baffled at every point; his body was worn down with pain and sickness; and his return to England was but the pathway to the place of his former imprisonment, and thence, by a

Failure of his attempt to settle there.

[76] His first voyage to Guiana was in 1595; he commenced his last voyage in 1617.

[77] Bishop Hall's Practical Works, 'The Balm of Gilead,' &c. vii. 171.

refinement of legal subtlety as iniquitous as it was cruel, to the scaffold. The terms of an unfulfilled sentence, unjustly passed upon him sixteen years before, were the alleged grounds upon which Ralegh suffered; but the influence of Gondomar and the Spanish Court, that influence which had already proved so detrimental to the British interests in Virginia and the Somers-Isles, were the real instruments which effected his execution.

His death.

Looking, however, to the country thus connected with Ralegh's last enterprise, we find, both before and after his death, the attention of several of our countrymen directed thither. Smith, the chronicler of Virginia, relates that he was at one time to have taken part in an expedition fitted out for Guiana, by Sir Oliver Leigh, 'a worshipfulle knight of Kent,' and conducted by his brother; and that Sir Thomas Roe, who was afterwards Ambassador to the Great Mogul, had passed a year or two upon its coast, and had employed in the River Amazon the services of a Captain Morton, who subsequently joined Smith in Virginia; and that 'divers others worthy and industrious gentlemen, both before and since, had spent much time and charge to discover it more perfectly[78].'

The first occasion on which Leigh proceeded to Guiana, was as early as 1604, and a letter, to his brother, dated July 2, in that year, is still extant, which shews him to have been of a singularly devoted spirit. At the end of it, he says,

Leigh's former expedition to Guiana.

[78] Smith's Travels, &c. in Churchill, ii. 404.

His application for Preachers.

'I pray forget not to send Preachers, sober and discrete men, and such as are well perswaded of the Church government in England.'

In the vessel sent afterwards to the relief of the former settlers, I find a proof that his request was, in some degree, complied with; for 'Mr. Tederington, Preacher,' was on board of her; and seems to have discharged faithfully all the duties of his office, until adverse circumstances compelled all parties to abandon the plantation[79].

Harcourt's expedition.

Of the other expeditions to Guiana enumerated by Smith, the most distinguished was that made by Mr. Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt. He went out thither, for the first time, in 1608; and, having explored part of the country, left his brother Michael, with twenty men, at Wiapoco, to keep possession of it in the King's name until he should return. An account of his proceedings upon this voyage, and of the motives which animated him, is given in a pamphlet, which he published in 1613, entitled 'A Relation of Guiana,' and dedicated to Prince Charles. This pamphlet was republished, with a few additions, in 1626; and, in the dedication to Charles I., which Harcourt then prefixed to it, he relates, that through the favour of Prince Henry, and in consideration of the labour and expense which he had undergone, James I. had granted to him Letters Patent for planting and inhabiting all that tract of land between the Amazon and Essequibo. But 'mighty crosses and grievous troubles' befalling him, had prevented his prosecution of the settlement; in consequence of which King James had

[79] Purchas, iv. 1225. 1260.

granted the land between the Wiapoco and Amazon to a Corporation of Lords and Gentlemen, at the head of whom was Roger North, brother of Lord Dudley North. North had accompanied Ralegh upon his last expedition to Guiana; and, buoyed up by the hope that Ralegh's golden dreams might yet be realised, and not knowing of the assignment which had been granted to Harcourt, he went out and settled, with more than a hundred followers, upon the banks of the Amazon. But the happy proceeding of this action, Harcourt informs us, was diverted by the opposition of Count Gondomar.

A part of Guiana, now a possession of the British Crown.

It would be a needless anticipation of the history to trace at this moment the subsequent fortunes of Guiana. Suffice it to observe, that the territory, now called British Guiana, after having been taken from the Dutch, towards the close of the last, and restored to them, at the beginning of the present century, became finally a possession of the British Crown, by capitulation, in 1803. It consists of the united districts of Demerara and Essequibo, and the district of Berbice; and was constituted a distinct See of the Colonial Church, in 1842 [80].

The settlement of St. Kitt's by the English in 1623.

Not far distant from Guiana, among the most northern of the Caribbee Islands [81], is the Island of St. Christopher, or, as it is more commonly called, St. Kitt's, the

[80] Since the first edition of this work, a very interesting and valuable work has been published upon the Indian Missions in Guiana by the Rev. W. H. Brett, a Missionary in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. I strongly recommend it to the reader's attention.

[81] The name of Charaibes, or Caribbees, was applied, by the

oldest of all the British possessions in the West Indies. Its ancient possessors, the Charaibes, or Caribbees, called it Liamuiga, or the Fertile Island; and, upon its discovery by Columbus, in 1493, he was so pleased with its appearance, that he gave to it the title of his own Christian name. Warner was the first Englishman who planted a settlement upon the Island. Having learnt, in a voyage to Surinam, that some of the smaller West India Islands had been deserted by the Spaniards, he resolved to profit by the event. Upon his return to England, he associated himself with fourteen other persons; and, embarking, in the first instance, for Virginia, sailed thence to St. Kitt's, where he arrived in January, 1623, and forthwith set about raising a crop of tobacco, which he proposed to make the staple commodity of the Island. Before the close of that year, a violent hurricane destroyed his plantations; and he returned to England for help. That help was speedily extended to him by James Hay, the Earl of Carlisle, a noble-

people of Hispaniola, to the savage cannibals inhabiting the most Eastern Islands of the West Indies; and, under that name, they expressed to Columbus their dread of those invaders. Edwards's Hist. of the West Indies, i. 5. He adds, in a note to the above passage, 'that the old Spanish navigators, in speaking of the West Indian Islands in general, frequently distinguish them into two classes, by the terms Barlovento and Sotovento, from whence our Windward and Leeward Islands; the Charibean constituting in strict propriety the former class; and the four large Islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, and Porto Rico, the latter.' Edwards follows this division in his history; but adds, that our English mariners 'appropriate both terms to the Caribbean Islands only, subdividing them according to their situation in the course of the trade wind; the Windward Islands by their arrangement terminating with Martinico, and the Leeward commencing at Dominica, and extending to Porto Rico.'

man of considerable influence in that day; and in May, 1624, a ship was sent out to St. Kitt's with supplies for the settlers. To grant the whole of the Caribbee Islands by Patent to the Earl of Carlisle, and his heirs, was no unlikely consequence which, according to the custom of that day, was likely to arise from the interest thus excited in the mind of that nobleman; and, accordingly, in the first year of Charles I., a grant, comprising these ample possessions, was conferred upon him. It is said also, that, before the passing of this grant, he had already received from James I. a warrant for the same; and that the King had therein erected the Caribbee Islands into a province called Carliola, on the model of the Palatinate of Durham [82].

Barbados possessed by the English, in 1605; but no settlement made until 1624.

Barbados, which is situated furthest to the east of any of the Windward Islands, is said to have received its name from the Portuguese, who discovered it in their voyages from Brazil. It was then entirely devoid of human inhabitants; the Caribbees had abandoned it; and the Portuguese, coveting the brighter prospect opened to them in the continent of South America, had taken no steps to colonise it. In 1605, the crew of the English vessel, which we have lately seen had been fitted out by Sir Oliph Leigh, for Guiana, is said to have landed at Barbados, and to have taken possession of it in the name of King James. No formal settlement was made in it until 1624, when an English merchant, Sir William Courteen, having brought home a favourable report of this Island, to which he had been driven by stress of

[82] Ib. i. 421; Clark's Summary of Colonial Law, 160.

weather, upon his return from Brazil, a grant of it was conferred by King James upon Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, the Lord High Treasurer; and a band of Colonists was forthwith sent out, who, upon their arrival at Barbados, laid the foundations of a town, which, like that first erected in Virginia, was called, in honour of their Sovereign, James Town. The grant thus conferred upon Ley, evidently stood in the way of that, which we have just said was given, of all the Caribbee Islands, in the following year, to the Earl of Carlisle. A dispute, therefore, was inevitable between these rival possessors of West Indian Isles: and, after having continued for some time, it was finally settled in 1627, by Ley agreeing to waive his Patent in favour of the Earl of Carlisle, and to receive the payment of three hundred pounds annually. The proprietorship thus became finally and solely vested in the Earl of Carlisle[83].

The relations of England with Africa.

The brief glance which has been here taken of the manner in which England had been led to set up tokens of her sovereignty in the West Indies, necessarily turns our thoughts to Africa, that country whose unhappy sons have been made, for so many years, victims of European cupidity in those Islands. I have already noticed the relations which England had endeavoured to establish with Africa during the 16th century; and the first participation in the nefarious traffic of slaves of which Englishmen were guilty, in the expeditions made under the command of Hawkins[84].

[83] Edwards, ut sup. i. 321; Purchas, iv. 1255.

[84] See pp. 85, 86, *ante*.

Another attempt was made by James I. to secure commercial intercourse with that continent, by granting an exclusive charter for that purpose to Sir Robert Rich, and other merchants of London, in 1618. The Company thus established failed to attain their proposed object, owing to the intrusion of separate traders from England, the superior activity and perseverance of the Dutch, and the small amount of gold and drug trade which at that period could be effected[85]. For the hateful exportation of slaves, no opening was presented in James's reign. I cannot find the record even of a solitary attempt made by the English, during the period, with reference to that object, unless it be the fact of an outward bound vessel belonging to the East India Company, touching at Saldanha Bay, in 1620, and taking possession of it, and the adjacent country, in the King's name[86]. The transaction which took place in Virginia in the same year, was, as we have already seen, wholly independent of the atrocious system established in a later age[87].

And with India, during the reign of James I.

India—the last portion of the globe to which the reader's attention shall now be directed,—was, throughout the whole of James's reign, an object of great interest with those to whom Elizabeth had granted a Charter on the last day of the sixteenth century. This Charter expired in 1615; but, five years before its expiration, James granted a second, and, in 1623,

[85] Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 292; Edwards, ut sup. ii. 44.

[86] Bruce's Annals of the East India Company, i. 221.

[87] See p. 265, *ante*.

added to it fresh judicial powers. In 1603, an English factory was established at Surat; and, from that time, until the end of James's reign, trading voyages were constantly made to India. Vessels of large burden, and many in number, were equipped for that purpose; the capital of separate traders was united into one general stock; officers of high distinction were entrusted with command; factories were settled at various places; and an ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was appointed in 1614, to visit the court of the Mogul[88]. Among the persons whose names are mentioned in these early transactions with India, were Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, who had already held such important offices in the infant Colony of Virginia. The latter officer, who had been sent out in 1618, with a special commission from James I., to protect the interests of the East India Company[89], met at Japan with Copeland, (who has been already mentioned as having been chaplain on board the Royal James, East Indiaman,) and conversed with him upon many of the affairs connected with Virginia and its rulers[90]. To the acquaintance thus formed, and to the information thus obtained, the interest, which Copeland afterwards manifested in the spiritual welfare of that province, may probably be ascribed. It were difficult otherwise to account for the remarkable fact, which has been

[88] Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 232. 259. 320. 241—276. Sir Thomas Roe was afterwards a member of the King's Council for Virginia; and Stith relates of him, p. 178, that he was 'well known to the learned, by the intimacy and dearness that was between him and Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.'

[89] Rymer's Fœd. xvii. 26; Bruce's Annals, i. 209.

[90] Stith's History, p. 297.

already noticed, that a Clergyman on board a vessel trading with the East, should have had his thoughts, his prayers, his untiring energies directed to the propagation of Christian truth on the shores of the American Continent[91].

If the question should suggest itself to the reader's mind, why did not Copeland turn his efforts towards those countries of India on which they might appear most naturally to have been fixed, the answer is supplied in the fact, that America opened a wide field for colonisation, and that India did not yet offer any prospect of it. India had been occupied, for centuries, by a population far advanced in civilisation and refinement; and, 'invited,' therefore, as has been justly observed, 'commercial activity, rather than colonisation. The earlier establishments of Europeans in India were accordingly mere factories, and their more extended possessions were slowly acquired by conquest or intrigue, not suddenly wrested from a feeble resistance, or simply occupied by an overflowing emigration[92].'

Wood's Holy Meditations for Seamen, chiefly those who sailed for India.

But, although for these reasons, the progress of the English power in India, at this period, was slow and feeble, we have distinct evidence to shew that many of our countrymen strove most anxiously to give it the best direction, and to animate with a true spirit the mariners and merchants engaged in the enterprise. A striking instance of this occurs in a Pamphlet, entitled, 'The True Honour of Navigation and Navigators: or Holy Meditations for Seamen, by John

[91] See p. 259, *ante*.

[92] Miller's 'History philosophically illustrated,' iv. 93.

Wood, Doctor in Divinitie.' It was published in 1618; and, in the Dedication addressed to Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the East India Company, and others, Wood speaks of his having been an eye-witness of their great care in providing all things necessary for the bodies and souls of those whom they had sent out in their several fleets to India; and, in token of his gratitude for this their care, begs them to accept his work, as another provision to supply the wants of seamen. He considered, and, I believe rightly, that it was the first attempt of the kind which had been made for the benefit of English navigators. And it is a remarkable coincidence, that one of the motives which prompted Grotius, a short time afterwards, to write his celebrated Treatise upon the Truth of the Christian Religion, is declared by him likewise to be a desire to instruct, and edify, and comfort those of his countrymen who were then engaged so successfully in rearing up the maritime greatness of Holland[93]. Wood had intended to have preached the substance of these Meditations as a Farewell Sermon, on board the Royal James,—the vessel which, we have seen, carried the faithful and zealous Copeland as her chaplain,—and states that he 'had diuers times before, upon the like occasions, done the like office.' But, upon this particular occasion, having been prevented from fulfilling his intention, he was, therefore, the more desirous 'that the things that then escaped the eares of a few, may now bee in the eyes and sight of all that please; and may

[93] 'Propositum enim mihi erat omnibus quidem civibus, *sed præcipuè navigantibus*, operam navare utilem, ut in longo illo marino otio impenderent potiùs tempus, quàm, quod nimiùm multi faciunt, fallerent.' Grotius de Verit. Relig. Christ. lib. i. c. 1.

not only bee a meanes to them to beguile some idle howres, but teach them in all places of the world, to make spirituall vse to their soules, of all occurrences that either by Sea or Land they shall meete withall.' The fact to which Wood here refers, that he had frequently spoken the words of warning and of comfort to English mariners, on board vessels ready to depart for India, is not more indicative of the earnest and affectionate faith with which he and others, who embarked upon such adventures, were then animated, than is another fact, which he describes at the end of his 'Epistle Dedicatorie,' a proof of the bountiful and liberal spirit of those who then conducted our intercourse with the East.

'I must needs set downe,' he adds,—'that as God hath greatly encreased your store, so yee haue not been backward to impart much, and more than any other Societie (that euer I could heare of) to the supplie of the wants of his poore members: your daily reliefe of poore Ministers of the Gospell, your charitie to Prisoners, to Widowes, to Orphans, and to all well-minded poore people that you find to stand in need of your helpe, cannot but pleade for you in the eyes of God and all good men. Goe on therefore (in God's name) in your noble designes, and rest ye still vpon his blessing, who (I doubt not) hath many more in store for you, and so long as you conscionably seeke to honour his name among the Heathen, and (vnder him) to aduance the State wherein yee live; will (no doubt) affoord you many comfortable assurances of his loue and fauour, both to your bodies and soules here in this life, and crowne you with eternall glorie with himselfe, in the life to come.'

The Meditations,—addressed 'to all honest professors and practisers of navigation, and especially to all navigators to the East Indies,'—are founded upon a consideration of the history of our Saviour's stilling the tempest on the Sea of Galilee; and, although encumbered by the needless subdivisions, and obscured

by the metaphysical and allegorical illustrations, so prevalent among writers of his day, will well repay a careful examination. It is impossible here to abridge them. But I have copied one of the Prayers, to be used by Mariners[94], appended by the Author to his Meditations, which, for unction and fervour of devotion, I have never seen surpassed in any private manual. Had the words of this Prayer been remembered, and its spirit shared, by all who went forth from this country, in that day, to the East or to the West, the name of England would have been known by the Christianity of England, throughout the world.

With this brief notice of India, and the extent to which British enterprise had been carried in the reign of James I., this chapter terminates. The reader will have seen how vast and various were the territories which, even at that period, were becoming associated with the British name; the many elements of disturbance already in operation; and the efforts which, notwithstanding these impediments, had been made towards the extension of Christian truth and holiness in foreign lands.

The events which marked the reign of his successor, were fraught with consequences so directly and intimately affecting the Church of England, both at home and in the Colonies, that they demand a more minute investigation than can here be made of them; and to that part of the subject, the reader's attention will be directed in the next chapter.

[94] See Appendix to this Volume, No. III.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625—1648-9.

Reasons for reviewing the history of the Church under Charles I.

THE history of England, under Charles I., reveals a fearful picture of strife, oppression, and ruin. The destroying elements were at work from the outset of his reign; and the overthrow of our whole civil and ecclesiastical polity was effected at its close. The trials of England, at this period, became also the trials of her Colonies. It is evident, therefore, that any enquiry into the position of the National Church in those Colonies must be imperfect, which does not first take notice of events, which so directly influenced her destiny at home; and, to some of the most important of these, the attention of the reader is now briefly to be directed.

His difficulties.

The King was young and inexperienced; tenacious of what he had been taught to regard as the prerogatives of the Crown; but, ignorant, and therefore unmindful, of the not less inalienable rights of the people. His minister, the Duke of Buckingham, accounted frank and generous by his friends, was yet hated by the many more whom his rapid rise to royal

favour had made his enemies; and his profligacy, arrogance, ambition, added, daily, fresh fuel to the displeasure that was kindled against him. The exchequer, also, was empty: and to the debts, contracted by the personal expenses of the late King, and by the war which the whole country had urged him to undertake, towards the end of his reign, for the relief of the Palatinate, were now to be added others which Charles brought with him upon his accession to the throne, and the cost of those needless, and unsuccessful, hostilities with Spain and France, in which he was soon afterwards engaged.

Short duration of the three first Parliaments.

From such difficulties, the Commons of England were slow to extricate their King. Their first care was to maintain their own liberties, and to ward off the encroachments, which they suspected were about to be made upon them: and, therefore, only with reluctance, and under conditions, and in scant measure, did they grant the subsidies required for the public service. Hence, Parliaments, convened to relieve the King's necessities, were dissolved, with aggravated feelings of distrust and anger upon both sides; and, at length, after the dissolution of the third Parliament, in 1629, the 4th year of Charles's reign, the fatal resolution was adopted by him, to govern, for the future, without the intervention of that branch of the legislature. The memorable Petition of Right, indeed, which, before that event, he had been forced to receive, survived to bear constant witness against this violation of the law; and, in the end, submission was rendered to its enactments. Nevertheless, for eleven successive years, the sole prerogative of the Crown usurped the place of every other.

None convened for eleven years afterwards.

Evil results thereof.

The first evil consequence of this state of things was the continued system of illegal expedients which, before that period, had been resorted to, for the purpose of raising money; the exaction of benevolences and forced loans; the levying of duties on exports and imports, (called tonnage and poundage;) the revival of the forest laws, by which separate fines and rents were imposed upon persons of rank and wealth; and, above all, the memorable tax of ship-money.

It is no sufficient vindication of such proceedings, to say that many of them were pronounced, by the legal authorities of that day, to have been the just exercise of the kingly power; for the sophistry with which arguments in support of their decisions were maintained, and the tyranny with which they were enforced, have affixed to the names of the men associated with them a stigma which no time can obliterate [1]. Still less can they be justified, by reference to the prosperous condition of the kingdom, which, according to some writers, is said to have marked that same period. Clarendon, for instance, asserts, that it was a time in which this nation 'enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long a time together, have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of Christendom [2].' Hume likewise describes, in the beginning of his 53rd chapter, the great happiness which then prevailed. But it is impossible to admit the correctness of these state-

[1] It must not be forgotten, however, that on some occasions the judges manifested a nobler sense of duty. Hallam's Constit. Hist. ii. 10—12.

[2] Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 131.

ments, either as it regards the matter of fact upon which they are supposed to rest, or the conclusion which men may be tempted to draw from them, namely, the wisdom of acquiescing in the expediency of measures which led to such fortunate results. The end, even where it is successful, cannot justify the use of means, in themselves unlawful; and, in the present instance, the end was, and could not fail to be, disastrous evil. Let Clarendon himself be our witness. Speaking of one part of the policy pursued by the King's government, at that time, he distinctly admits, that it 'afflicted many good men,' and 'encouraged ill men to all boldness and licence;' that 'supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws;' and 'unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the King, the profit to other men.' Again, he acknowledges, that, in order to gain the ends intended by other parts of the same policy, 'the Council-table and Star Chamber enlarged their jurisdictions to a vast extent, "holding" (as Thucydides said of the Athenians) "for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited;" that 'the same persons, in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury; the Council-table, by proclamations enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star Chamber censuring the breach, and disobedience to these proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonment: so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right, by which

men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed;' that, especially, with respect to the case of ship-money, 'sworn judges of the law adjudged' that tax to be lawful 'upon such grounds and reasons, as every stander-by was able to swear was not law;' and that men, 'instead of giving, were required to pay, and by a logic that left no man any thing which he might call his own;' and that, finally, all respect for the persons of those who administered the laws was by such acts of corruption and oppression destroyed, and with it all 'dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves[3].'

It is impossible to believe, therefore, in the face of such testimony, that any thing, which really deserved the name of prosperity, could have been enjoyed by the nation at this time. The semblance of it, there may have been; but nothing more. The fabric, however beautiful, rested only upon the sand; and the mutterings of the storm were already heard, which came, and beat upon it, and cast it down.

Aggravated by the policy pursued towards the Church of Rome.

It was not only in those quarters of the horizon to which attention has just been directed, that the elements of strife were collected, and ready to break forth. Upon every side, men's minds were disturbed by cries of alarm. Among the loudest and most vehement of these, was the clamour, which the Puritans were the most forward in urging, against the policy of the English Court towards the Church of Rome. The extreme hatred and dread of Rome, for which they were ever conspicuous, had been excited in the first instance, by

[3] Ib. i. 118—124.

the proceedings connected with the intended marriage of Charles, during his father's reign, with the Infanta of Spain; and, afterwards, by those which marked his actual marriage with Henrietta Maria of France; —each of the princesses being in communion with the Romish Church. Those proceedings had, certainly, a tendency to excite mistrust and jealousy in the public mind; and such feelings were soon stimulated into quicker action by the extraordinary degree of favour, which,—in spite of penal laws contained in the statute-book, and of the King's repeated promises to observe those laws,—was shewn towards many of the same communion[4]. Had such favour, indeed, been the result of a sincere desire to mitigate the rigour which, then, and for many years afterwards, characterised our penal laws; had it been a step, taken only in the direction of a purely merciful and beneficent purpose, to prepare the minds of the English people for the abolition of such severities; the record of it might be gratefully acknowledged, in our own day, as a beam of gentle light, breaking in through the darkness of that intolerant age; and little sympathy could be awakened in behalf of those who then lifted up the voice of an indignant and resolute remonstrance against its exercise. But, when the favour, thus lavished in defiance of promises and laws, upon one party,—and that, too, a party, which had not abated one jot of those impious pretensions, whereby, assuming the power delegated of God to the prophet Jeremiah, they claimed to be 'supreme' "over all nations and kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, to destroy,

[4] Harris's Charles I., 193—208; Brodie's British Empire, ii. 48. 51. 157.

to build, and to plant[5],"—was denied to well-nigh every other, it can excite no astonishment that men should have become exasperated, and that the abettors of such gross partiality should have been regarded with hatred and suspicion.

The influence of this unjust policy was not confined to England. The plantation of a most important Colony in North America, during the present reign, by a Roman Catholic proprietor, who went forth invested with the amplest powers which the King's Charter could confer upon him, was one of its direct and palpable results; and the reader will see hereafter how many and great difficulties were thereby thrown in the way of the Church of England, when she sought soon afterwards to extend, as she was bound to do, her ministrations to the same province.

Bishop Lake.

There was, indeed, one among her spiritual rulers, Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who, if his voice had been listened to, and his example followed, might have done much towards averting the evils which now threatened her. But his course was brief; and the lessons of righteousness which he taught were neglected. To some of them, which bear directly upon the subject of our present work, we shall have occasion to refer, in our relation of the New England settlements; and the testimony therein exhibited will abundantly prove their value. For the present, we must content ourselves with the mere mention of the good Bishop's name; and hasten onward with our narrative.

The share of the Church of England,

These causes speedily threw the Church at home into great peril. The direct and

[5] These words from Jeremiah, i. 10, occur in the Bull of Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth. See p. 112, *ante*.

in the obnoxious counsels of the Crown, increases her dangers.

avowed share which the Church was led to take in many of the most obnoxious measures of Charles I., made it impossible for her to escape the just odium which was attached to them. The assistance which she gave, for instance, in promoting the forced laws already spoken of, may be cited as one instance of this. The authority for performing that service, was derived from a letter drawn up Sept. 21, 1626, by Laud, who in that year had succeeded Lake, as Bishop of Bath and Wells, and was issued by the King to the Archbishops of both provinces[6]. The promptitude with which Laud drew up these Instructions, was a painful indication of his proneness to forget the true liberties of the Church and nation, in his desire to gratify the King; and the manner, in which some of the Clergy urged their appeal, served but to incite the people to a more sturdy resistance against it. The doctrine laid down, for example, by Sibthorp, in his memorable Assize Sermon at Northampton, in the following year, is described by Collier to have been such as shewed 'the preacher was very defective, either in his honesty or understanding;' and, if 'pursued through its consequences, would make Magna Charta, and the other laws for securing property, signify little.' Archbishop Abbot refused, very properly, to give his licence for the publication of a Sermon, which contained such erroneous teaching. And, that Abbot should have been suspended, for a time, from the functions of his high office, on

[6] Collier's Eccles. Hist. viii. 18; Heylyn's Life of Laud, 161—165, where the letter is given at length. Not the least painful part of this passage in Heylyn's narrative is the tone of levity with which he speaks of the whole measure, and of Laud's share in it.

account of this refusal[7]; that Laud should have rendered any assistance in preparing the objectionable Sermon for the licence which it received, soon afterwards, from Monteigne, Bishop of London; and that Sibthorp himself should have been preferred, in consequence, to a higher station in the Church; are facts, to which the annals of that time distinctly bear witness, and which overwhelm the mind with astonishment and sorrow[8].

The elevation of Montague and others.

The consecration of Montague, about the same time, to the See of Chichester, was taken as another evidence of the ability and desire, on the part of the Church, to promote the arbitrary counsels of which the country complained. Montague had already so far irritated the public mind by his writings, as to have caused the most painful discussions and proceedings, in the first and second Parliaments, during this reign. Yet, in August, 1628,—soon after the prorogation of the third Parliament, and at the time of Laud's translation, from the See of Bath and Wells, to that of London,—Montague was chosen a Bishop of the Church. True, the sentence, pronounced against him by the Commons, had been an assumption of power far beyond the line of their jurisdiction, and proved, that, in the hearts of the loudest professors of liberty, a spirit of fierce and oppressive tyranny was at work. But,

[7] The instrument setting forth the Archbishop's suspension is given by Collier, viii. 21—24; and, although no specific reference is made therein to Sibthorp's Sermon, yet it is plain, from Abbot's narrative in Rushworth's Hist. Coll. i. 438—461, that his refusal to licence it was the real cause of his suspension.

[8] Collier, viii. 20, 21; Heylyn's Life of Laud, 167; Neal's Puritans, i. 513.

to inflame that spirit, yet further, by promoting the man, who, by his writings, had stirred it into action, was neither wise nor just. The suppression of Montague's book, 'Appello Cæsarem,' by a Royal edict, and the acknowledgment made therein, 'that this book has been the first occasion of those disputes and differences which had disturbed the repose of the Church,' are at once a proof of the offence committed by him, and a condemnation of the favour bestowed upon him[9].

The appointment also of Mainwaring to the same high office in the Church, was an instance of like infatuation. He had made himself notorious by the advancement of opinions, even more extravagant and dangerous than those proclaimed by Sibthorp: saying, for instance, 'that the King is not bound to preserve the subjects in their legal rights and liberties; that his Royal will and absolute command in imposing loans and taxes, though without the consent of the Parliament, ought to be obeyed by the subject under the pain of eternal damnation; that those who refused to comply with this loan transgressed the law of God, insulted the King's supreme authority, and incurred the guilt of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion.' So outrageous were the positions put forth in this Sermon, that the King issued a proclamation for its suppression, about the same time that Montague's book was called in. The House of Lords imposed a fine upon the writer; and pronounced him incapable of

[9] Collier, viii. 2. 10—13. 35. 39. A remarkable entry occurs in Laud's Diary, January 29, 1625-6, after he had been reading Montague's book, in which he says, 'Methinks I see a cloud arising and threatening the Church of England. God of his mercy dissipate it!'

holding an ecclesiastical dignity or secular office. He himself made public acknowledgment of the justice of his sentence, at the bar of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding all which, he was consecrated, in 1635, Bishop of St. David's[10].

Truly, this must be admitted to have been, as Collier himself acknowledges, 'no serviceable conduct,' making 'the Parliament more warm at their next meeting, and the King lose ground in the affection of his subjects.' And, if such be the language of an historian, who, it is well known, would not expose to needless censure any one act of the spiritual or temporal rulers of our Zion, it is easy to understand what progress the spirit of disaffection was making, all this while, towards the persons of those rulers, and how the whole body of the Church itself was daily drifting away into a false position.

Other influences, tending to the same result, were in operation upon every side. To enumerate all these, or even to describe minutely any one of them, is not my design. The only reason for noticing them at all is, that I may trace the pernicious effects which they produced in the Church at home, and, through her, in the Church abroad.

The Arminian and Sabbatarian controversies.

Among the most prominent of these disturbing forces, were the Arminian and Sabbatarian controversies. The former had, for some years past, given rise to

[10] Collier, viii. 28—40. It is right to remind the reader that Laud declares, in his defence at his trial, that he advised the king against this act; reminding him of the censure which Parliament had passed upon Mainwaring; and expressing his fear that 'ill construction would be made of it.' History of his Troubles, 239.

questions far more wide and complex than the doctrinal propositions, originally advocated by Arminius, in opposition to the school of Calvin. And the many causes of excitement, which, in the time of Bancroft, had acted in one direction, and, now, in the time of his successor Abbot, were acting in another, served to embroil the conflict still more. The sympathy which Abbot felt and expressed for the advocates of the Genevan discipline, provoked an antagonistic spirit in the many who believed that such discipline was opposed to the true government of the Church. And, accordingly, the history of Laud, from the time of his first entering the University of Oxford to the close of his career, is little more than a record of the conflict thus created, and continuing under different phases. Hence the Royal Injunctions, which Laud was concerned, with other Bishops, in framing, soon after his consecration to the See of St. David's; and which were promulgated by James I., in 1622. Hence also the proclamation issued by the present King, in 1626, against novelties in doctrine and discipline; and the reprint of the Thirty-nine Articles, in 1629, with the Royal declaration prefixed; measures, directly owing to Laud's advice, and speedily followed by the most angry and vehement opposition from various quarters [11].

The Sabbatarian controversy was another source of irritation to the public mind. The causes, which quickened it into fiercest action, were the republication, in 1634, of King James's Book of Sports; and the order, which the Bishops were directed to enforce upon their Clergy, that they should read the same

[11] Heylyn, ut sup, 97. 154. 187.

publicly in their respective Churches. This was a measure fraught with manifold mischief; for, although some men were sincerely persuaded of its lawfulness, it wounded the consciences of others who believed in the Divine authority of the Lord's Day; it perplexed the simple-minded; encouraged the licentious; and gave occasion to men to say, some in sorrow, but more in derision, that the Clergy were ready to substitute the declaration of an earthly King for the commandment of God[12].

Suppression of Feoffees.

This measure had been by a short time preceded by another, which likewise increased hostile feelings against the rulers of the Church; namely, the suppression of the corporation of the Feoffees[13], who had been constituted for the purpose of purchasing impropriate Rectories, and es-

[12] Fuller thus describes its effects upon some of the Clergy: 'As for such whose consciences reluctated to publish the Declaration, various were their evasions. Some left it to their Curats to read. Nor was this the plucking out of a thorn from their own, to put it in another man's conscience, seeing their Curats were persuaded of the lawfulness thereof. Others read it indeed themselves, but presently after read the fourth Commandment. And was this fair play, setting God and their King (as they conceived) at odds, that so they might themselves escape in the fray? Others point-blank refused the reading thereof, for which they were suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, some deprived, and moe molested in the High Commission: it being questionable, whether their sufferings procured more pity to them, or more hatred to the causers thereof.' Church Hist. xi. 148.

[13] They were twelve in number, consisting, (as Fuller, who gives their names, tells us,) of 'four Divines, to persuade men's consciences, four lawyers to draw all conveiances, and four citizens who commanded rich coffers, wanting nothing save (what since doth all things) some swordsmen, to defend all the rest.' Church Hist. xi. 137.

tablishing Lectureships in the chief market towns. The poverty of the Church, and the consequent necessity of supplying the destitution which existed in many populous places, was the cause which led to the creation of such a trust; and the vast sums of money, speedily raised towards the accomplishment of its avowed object, shew how strongly the sympathies of the public mind were enlisted in behalf of the work. Fuller, indeed, in his first notice of the proceedings of these Feoffees, justly calls their employment 'laudable;' and, with a generosity equal to his candour, acknowledges that his pen 'may safely salute them with a Godspeed, as neither seeing nor suspecting any danger in the designe[14].' Nevertheless, others were quick to foresee many evil consequences from the prosecution of it, and resolute to stop its progress. The first open opposition to it appeared in a Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, in 1630, by Heylyn,—then a Fellow of Magdalen College, and afterwards the biographer of Laud,—in which he pointed out what he believed to be the sinister designs of the Puritan party in establishing these Lectureships. Further evidence, supposed to bear upon the same point, was supplied; and a course of direct resistance soon followed. A memorandum, found at the end of Laud's Breviate, shews his determination to ruin the project; for it is to this effect,

[14] Ib. He computes the number of parish churches in England, endowed with glebe and tithes, in his day, to be 9284. 'Of these,' he says, 'when these Feoffees entered on their work, three thousand eight hundred fourty five were either appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals and Colledges, or impropriated (as lay-fees) to private persons, as formerly belonging to Abbies. The redeeming and restoring of the latter was these Feoffees' designe.'

namely, 'To overthrow the feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in impropriations.' Opposite to this memorandum, the word 'Done' is written; a significant proof that the ability and zeal of Laud had been equal to his resolution. And, accordingly, we find in the public records of this time, that legal proceedings were instituted in the Court of Exchequer against the Feoffees, their acts condemned, and the impropriations which they had bought confiscated to the King's use;—the declaration of a fuller censure being deferred to a future period. Here then was another stone of offence, set up in the way of multitudes who were still outwardly members of the same communion.

Severities against Leighton, Prynne, and others.

It does not appear that any further steps were taken in the Star Chamber, or in the Court of High Commission, to punish those who had been forward in establishing the obnoxious Feoffees. But the powers of these despotic tribunals were never exercised with more untiring vigilance, or more unrelenting severity. Witness the barbarities inflicted, in 1630, upon Leighton; and, a few years afterwards, upon Prynne, and Bastwick and Burton, for having published schismatical and seditious libels. Can we wonder that indignation and vengeance should have been treasured up against the Church which, in the person of her chief rulers, was identified with the proclamation and execution of sentences so iniquitous? They give emphatic confirmation to the truth of the remark made in a previous passage of this work [15], that to

[15] See pp. 131, 132, *ante*.

have been entrusted with the management of any portion of a machinery in its own nature so terrible, was the heaviest encumbrance which could have been cast upon the Church, the sorest calamity which she could have been made to suffer. Her Creed, indeed, is a perpetual protest against the severities of which she was made the agent; and, as long as the benign spirit of her Services remains, so long shall the testimony be secured to every generation of her children, that, not in accordance with her true principles, but against them, is any violation of the truth or of peace ever committed in her name. But all this was overlooked amid the tumult of outraged feelings. The pillory, the fine, the scourge, the prison, the branded cheek and forehead, the mutilated ears and nostrils,—these were the atrocious tortures which men now suffered, or saw others suffering, by virtue of the Star-chamber decrees; and, the result was, as it only could be, the manifestation of pity for the oppressed, of hatred against the oppressor. The spectacle of Prynne returning to the Tower, with marks of infamy stamped, for the second time, upon his bleeding person, and pointing to them as badges of a grateful triumph [16], was sufficient of itself to convince any one who, with calmness, yet in sorrow, looked upon it, that it was not he, but they who thus tortured him, for whom the real suffering was in store.

[16] Fuller relates, that, 'as Prynne returned by water to the Tower, with the letters S. L. (Schismatical or Slanderous Libeller) branded upon his cheek, he composed the following verses:

Stigmata maxillis referens, insignia *Laudis*,
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo.'

Church History, xi. 155.

Forced emigration to New England.

And so the work of misery and ruin went forward. One sad evidence of its progress was the forced emigration of numbers of our countrymen, from their native shores, to the infant Colony of New England. The reader has been informed, in the preceding chapter, of the allotment of that territory, in 1606, to the North Virginia, or Plymouth, Company; its survey in 1614 by Smith, the celebrated chronicler of Virginia; his designation of it, soon afterwards, by the title which it now bears; the settlement, made upon its coast, in 1620, by the small band of Puritan emigrants from Leyden; the generous assistance, towards obtaining their Patent, which they received from those true-hearted sons of the Church of England, Sir Edwin Sandys, and John and Nicholas Ferrar; the questionable nature of the rights which they arrogated to themselves, upon their first landing; the extreme rigour with which they exercised them; and, lastly, the abortive effort of our Church, in 1623, to extend her influence to a portion of the same region. The records, now about to be examined, speak of other emigrants fleeing to that coast, only that they might escape the pains and penalties with which they were visited at home. They were still, by their outward profession, members of the Church of England. The prejudices of some, indeed, had been so strongly manifested in favour of the Genevan discipline, and the affections of others, who were willing to acknowledge the authority of the Episcopal Office, had been so greatly outraged by the overstrained and oppressive exercise of its powers, that their formal separation from our Church seemed well-nigh inevitable. Yet, there were others, and, I believe, a majority, who,

if they had been treated with forbearance, or generosity, or even with bare justice, would have rejoiced to remain within her fold. But the spirit and language of conciliation were alike unknown in that day; and so the breach became irreparable. The strength of the opposing parties was, at first, so unequally matched, that many of the weaker side, feeling that no remedy was left to them but flight, forsook all that was dear to them at home; and hastened across the Atlantic to the quarter which seemed most likely to give them shelter. It was a spectacle well fitted to excite shame, indignation, and sorrow, in the hearts of those who witnessed it. Nor can we wonder that Milton, whose heart burnt with hatred of Church authority, should have felt the fire of indignation kindle within him, as he called such things to remembrance. Accordingly, in his earliest political tract[17], he pictures to himself 'the form of our dear mother England,—in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to see so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity;'—and exclaims, with all the fervour of his impassioned eloquence, 'Let the astrologer be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to States; I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation (God turn the omen from us) than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country.' The number of those who were compelled to flee was so great, that we find Laud complaining of it, in one of

[17] Entitled 'Of Reformation in England,' &c. i. 267, fol. ed.

his letters to Strafford, as something monstrous[18]; and, at length, a proclamation was issued, May 1, 1638, forbidding any one to emigrate, except with a licence and certificate of conformity from the Parochial minister. Upon the Clergy themselves, also, a similar check was placed; for none of them were permitted to leave England, save with the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London[19]. The enforcement of such conditions, at such a moment, could, of course, only operate, and was meant to operate as an effectual bar against the departure of any who felt themselves aggrieved; and we are left at a loss which to deplore most, the severity which, in the first instance, thus drove men from home, or the folly which afterwards kept them shut up within it, when, with affections alienated and passions inflamed, their presence could only be dangerous. If it be true, as I am disposed to believe it is[20], that Hampden, and

[18] Strafford Papers, ii. 169. The names and characters of many of the emigrants are given by Neal, i. 572—580.

[19] Rushworth, i. part ii. 409.

[20] The story is founded upon the authority of Dr. George Bates and Dugdale, two zealous Royalists, and met with general acceptance until the publication of Miss Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of Charles I. The reasons which she has given for disbelieving it, i. 473, have led some writers likewise to reject it. (See Professor Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, i. 368, and Foster's Lives of Eminent British Statesmen, iii. 81.) On the other hand, Hallam retains, in the last edition of his Constitutional History, the same passage, relating the story, which is found in former editions; a significant proof that he has not yet been convinced of its inaccuracy. The reasons adduced by Miss Aikin, and repeated by Mr. Foster, are, first, the improbability of Hampden entertaining the idea of emigration at a time when the great cause of ship-money, with which his name will be for ever associated, was pending, and the whole course of affairs, in which he bore so prominent a part,

Haslerig, and Say, and Brook, and Cromwell, were among those whose intended departure to New England was arrested by this insane policy, we are supplied with direct and palpable proof of the ruin which it entailed upon its authors. But, in truth, it is not necessary to depend upon any such particular instances. The simple statement of the measures, to which Charles and his counsellors had recourse in the present crisis, is sufficient to demonstrate their destructive tendency.

Intention of

And here the humiliating fact forces

was drawing to a crisis: and, secondly, the statement of Rushworth, part ii. 409, that, although the ships in question were stopped by an order of Council, yet, afterwards, upon the petition of the merchants, passengers, and owners of the ships, the King 'was graciously pleased to free them from the late restraint to proceed in their intended voyage.' With respect to the first of these reasons, it may be observed, that, although Hampden was doubtless resolute in his opposition to the tax of ship-money, the issue of the struggle in 1638 was still very doubtful; and he might well have entertained the idea of emigration; especially, as it appears from his own letter to Sir John Eliot, which Miss Aikin and Foster have cited, that he and others of his political friends had been for some time carrying on the plan of a settlement in New England. And, with respect to the second, it may be observed, that the statement in Rushworth is expressed in very general terms; and that so long an interval elapsed between the issuing and the removal of the prohibition, that some of the most obnoxious parties against whom it was directed, impatient of delay, probably gave up their plan. But this by no means proves that the prohibition was not directed against them, or would not have continued in force, if they had adhered to their design. As for the contemptuous rejection of the original statements of Bates and Dugdale, I would observe, that no proof exists of their want of veracity in this matter. On the contrary, the writers nearest their time repeat the same story. Neal, i. 618; Cotton Mather's Magn. Chr. Americ. i. 23; Kennet's History of England, iii. 83.

sending a Bishop to New England.

itself upon our notice, that the first symptom of any intention, on the part of the rulers of our Church, to extend her offices and government, in their integrity, to her children, in any foreign plantation, is in immediate connexion with the above painful history. Heylyn, in fact, declares plainly, that the intention was suggested by the difficulties which had thus arisen. It was deemed 'unsafe,' he says, 'to Church and State, to suffer such a constant receptacle of discontented, dangerous, and schismatical persons to grow up so fast [as it did in New England]; from whence, as from the bowels of the Trojan horse, so many incendiaries might break out to inflame the nation;' that 'New England, like the spleen in the natural body, by drawing to it so many sad and sullen humours, was not unuseful and unserviceable to the general health; but when the spleen is grown once too full, and emptieth itself into the stomach, it both corrupts the blood, and disturbs the head, and leaves the whole man wearisome to himself and others. And, therefore, to prevent such mischiefs as might thence ensue, it was once under consultation of the chief physicians, who were to take especial care of the Church's health, to send a Bishop over to them for their better government, and back him with some forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade, obedience.' Had it been an enemy of Laud who made this statement, it might have been looked upon as one of the many inventions which their malice was ever quick to devise against him; but, when we find it recorded by his own biographer and friend, and read further, that the only cause which led this 'design' to be 'strangled in the first conception,' was the breaking out of the

troubles in Scotland [21], we feel it impossible to deny that the plan was contemplated, and are compelled to wonder at the extent of that infatuation which could have framed it only with such intent.

If the design had been to send out, not to New England, but to Virginia, a spiritual and loving pastor, who would have been mindful to 'hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost' of 'the flock of Christ' [22] throughout that province, it would have been some reparation of the wrongs which the secular power of England had inflicted upon her, and a just completion of that holy work, of which the foundation had been laid by many faithful members and ministers of her Church. It would have renewed the spirit of devotion which Hunt and Whitaker had manifested in their early ministrations in the Colony; and been a fitting acknowledgment of the labours which Sandys and Ferrar had so nobly sustained in the Council-chamber of the Virginia Company, and of the prayers and heart-stirring exhortations which Crashaw, and Symonds, and Copeland, and Donne, had urged so earnestly in the sanctuary of God, at home [23]. Or, if, even amid all the disadvantages which our Church must have had to encounter in the hostile Colony of New England, the design had been, with paternal affection and sincerity, to gather together, under one visible head, her few and scattered members within its borders, and thereby to renew, with better hopes, the enterprise which, under Gorges and Morrell, in

[21] Heylyn's Life of Laud, i. 369.

[22] Exhortation in the Office for the Consecration of Bishops.

[23] See c. v., *ante*.

former years, had failed[24], it would have rested on lawful grounds; and, whatsoever might have been the issue, the record of the attempt would now be gratefully remembered. But, to appoint a Bishop of the Church, only that he might renew battle, upon the shores of Massachusetts, with those whom the terrors of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court had driven forth from England; and to 'back him with forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade, obedience,' was to brand that holy office with severest infamy, and to provoke vehement and stubborn resistance against all, or any, exercise of its authority.

It is perfectly true, that, to uphold Church discipline by the strength of the secular arm, was regarded, in that day, as the surest way to enforce religious unity; and that no one seems to have questioned the lawfulness of employing violence in order to attain that end. A familiarity with such false principles of government was, probably, the process by which the acute mind of Laud was betrayed to entertain such counsels. But, whilst the remembrance of this fact may palliate, it cannot make to cease, the reproach which rests upon them.

Strafford's administration in Ireland.

The wonderful boldness and success with which Strafford had begun his administration in Ireland, a few years before this forced emigration to New England had reached its height, may have shut the eyes of Laud against the perils of his own course. The correspondence carried on between them during this period, shews, that, strong as were the measures which they both

[24] See p. 365, *ante*.

pressed forward in behalf of what they believed to be the King's prerogative, their own wishes far exceeded them[25]. 'Thorough and thorough' were the words tossed to and fro between them, as indicative of the system which they desired to follow; and other phrases, also, we find invented in their letters, by which they contrived to assure each other of their mutual confidence in the midst of the gathering tumult. Indeed, there are few more remarkable pages in the history of this reign than that which relates the government of Ireland by Strafford. He has been well described as 'the Richelieu of that Island,' who 'made it wealthier in the midst of exactions, and, one might almost say, happier in the midst of oppressions[26]. In England, no Parliaments were held for upwards of eleven years, from 1629 to 1640, and the funds, necessary for carrying on public affairs, were raised by the irregular and unjust measures already noticed. But, in Ireland, Strafford openly and at once convened the Parliament; and, with an energy and boldness to which it would be difficult to find a parallel, demanded, and obtained from it, six subsidies of £30,000 each. Again, the contest, which, in Ireland, not less than in England, had grown up between the Church and her Puritan adversaries, was conducted, in the former, in a far more summary manner, than in the latter country. In England, the sittings of Convocation had, of course, ceased with those of Parliament. In Ireland, the Convocation was not only summoned, but as much startled by the appeals addressed to it, as had been the Parliament. Nor was its obedience to the will of Strafford less

[25] Strafford Letters, i. 111. 155.

[26] Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 60.

complete at last. The Articles of the Irish Church were those which exhibited the Calvinistic interpretation of Christian doctrine, having been drawn up by Archbishop Whitgift and Whitaker in 1595, and known by the name of the Lambeth Articles. The attempt to make these Articles the symbol of the faith of the Church in England, we have seen, entirely failed [27]; but, in Ireland, it had succeeded. The time, however, was now come, when, without any qualification or reserve, they were to be exchanged for the English Articles. In spite of the indignant murmurs of some of the members of the Committee, and the expressed alarm of Archbishop Usher, lest the whole matter should fail, the exchange, upon which Strafford insisted, was unanimously agreed to. Moreover, a body of Canons was introduced, more stringent and open to exception than those which had been framed, in 1603-4, for the discipline of the Church in England; and Laud was, with much reluctance on his own part, elected Chancellor of the University of Dublin. Such was the strong arm with which Strafford seemed to bend every thing, for a time, to his own will. But it was only for a time. His greatness soon broke under him; and others, as well as he, were buried beneath its ruins.

Troubles in Scotland.

Scotland was the first quarter from which appeared the most portentous signs of the approaching danger. The ill-fated policy of Charles and his counsellors had awakened, in that country, a spirit of disaffection and resistance, which, being neither quelled by force, nor won by argument, speedily gathered strength; and singled out, for its

[27] See p. 135, *ante*.

chief object of attack, the discipline and services of the Church of England. The earliest cause of difference between the two countries, upon the all important subject of their religious faith, is to be found in the different manner in which the Reformation had been conducted in each. The efforts of the Puritans in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, to overthrow the Catholic and Apostolic government of the Church, and to set up the Presbyterian platform of Geneva in its place, although productive of much evil and misery, had failed to attain their end. But, in Scotland, chiefly through the mighty influence of Knox, the separation from all that had characterised the services and government of her Church, in former days, had been made as wide as possible. The evil and the good had been overwhelmed alike in one wide ruin; and, amid plunder, demolition, tumult, the discipline and theology of Calvin had claimed, and found, the acceptance of her children. But the mastery was not complete. The property of the Church indeed was spoiled, her venerable structures were defaced, and her ritual was abolished; yet the titles and territorial divisions of the several Bishoprics were retained; and their occupants, possessing only the name of Bishops, but nothing else which could give authority to their office, or validity to their acts, still held their seats in the Scotch Parliament [28]. It was a mock Episcopacy; and the derisive name of Tulchan, commonly applied to it, bore witness to the fraud [29].

[28] See the authorities quoted in Lawson's History of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, B. i. c. iv.

[29] The term is derived from a word signifying a model, or close resemblance; and was applied, in the first instance, to denote the

On the other hand, although Knox had succeeded in obtaining from the General Assembly, in 1565, the adoption of government by the Presbytery, yet its legal establishment was not effected until 1592, twenty years after his death. And, even then, the Titular, or Tulchan, Episcopacy was not declared illegal. To keep up the ascendency of the Court, by a dexterous management of these conflicting parties in Scotland, had been alike the policy of Elizabeth and of James; a false and hollow policy, which served but to scatter more widely that seed of discord which soon sprang up and ripened into a bitter harvest.

In the latter reign, indeed, a different order of things had been introduced by the restoration, in 1606, of an efficient Episcopacy; and by the consecration in England, in 1610, of the celebrated Archbishop Spottiswoode of Glasgow, Bishop Lamb of Brechin, and Bishop Hamilton of Galloway[30]. The character of the Clergy who, then and afterwards, were raised to the Episcopal office in Scotland,—the deliberations which took place, relative to the drawing up a Book of Common Prayer in conformity with our own,—and the adoption of the Articles of Perth in 1618, had held out some hope of peace and union between the two countries. But the rash measures of the present reign soon dispelled it. The true character and authority of the Episcopal office were now placed in jeopardy, by the attempt to make it the main instrument of temporal

The causes of them.

straw-stuffed figure of a calf placed before a cow to induce her to give milk. Ib. 112.

[30] Lawson, ut sup. B. ii. c. ii. Spottiswoode had been nominated to the See of Glasgow in 1603, so that for seven years he had been only a Titular Bishop. Ib. 267.

ascendency. Not only were several of the Scotch Bishops created Privy-counsellors; but Spottiswoode, now translated to the Primacy of St. Andrew's, was appointed to the office of Lord Chancellor, which, ever since the Reformation, had been in the hands of laymen; Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, was nominated Lord High Treasurer; and other ecclesiastics were put in possession of the wealthiest and most important offices of state.

These appointments were made, soon after the visit of Charles to Edinburgh, in 1633; and Clarendon not only acknowledges that the blame of them was cast upon Laud, then Bishop of London, who accompanied the King; but adds that he was open to the charge, 'since he did really believe, that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of Churchmen [that is, ecclesiastics] to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the highest trust.' Clarendon acknowledges also, that 'the accumulation of so many honours upon' the Bishops was 'unseasonable;' that it 'exposed them to the universal envy of the whole nobility;' that they 'had very little interest in the affections of that nation, and less authority over it;' and that 'it had been better that envious promotion had been suspended, till, by their grave and pious deportment, they had wrought upon their Clergy to be better disposed to obey them, and upon the people to like order and discipline; and till by these means the liturgy had been settled and received amongst them; and then the advancing some of them to greater honour might have done well[31].' If these be the

[31] Clarendon, i, 152—155.

admissions of Clarendon, it may easily be understood how wide and deep was the offence given to the Scottish nation by the favours thus heaped upon the Bishops. Other measures soon followed; which, although promoted avowedly for the purpose of cementing union, only gave fresh occasion for the jealousy and hatred of the Presbyterian portion of the nation to break forth, and disturbed the minds, and alienated the affections, even of those who recognised, and desired to obey, the authority of the Episcopal office. A draft, for instance, of the Canons, designed for the government of the Scotch Church, was drawn up by her Bishops, and submitted to Laud,—who had now succeeded Abbot in the English Primacy[32],—to Juxon, who had been appointed Laud's successor in the See of London, and to Wren, Bishop of Norwich. The draft received their approval; and was ratified, in 1635, under the great Seal[33]. But, unfortunately, both the subject-matter of these Canons, and the manner in which it was proposed to enforce them, were such as to ensure the defeat of the very object for which they had been drawn up. They contained, for instance, several references to the Book of Common Prayer to be used in Scotland; yet the Book itself did not accompany them, and was not completed until the following year. The fears, therefore, and suspicions of the people were justly aroused, by finding that they were required to observe particulars not yet fully placed before them. Moreover, no opportunity had been given for discussing the

[32] Sept. 19, 1633, soon after the King's return from Scotland. Ib. 183.

[33] Ib. 184; Collier, viii. 100.

matter of these Canons in lawful assembly. The opinions, consequently, of those who were to be bound by them had neither been canvassed, nor their consent openly and fairly ascertained. It seemed hopeless, therefore, to expect any favourable issue from a scheme brought forward in a way so plainly repugnant to the proper usage of the Church [34]. It challenged, at its very outset, the resistance both of the Clergy and the people whose acceptance it demanded.

Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over English congregations abroad.

Before we review the history of the troubles that followed, let us notice the proceedings of Archbishop Laud with respect to the English forces [35] in Holland, and the factories of English merchants settled in that country and at Hamburgh, and other places of trade, at this time. He obtained an order of Council, by virtue of which no colonels were to appoint chaplains to their regiments, or merchants to their factories, but such as were favourable to the Church of England; and a letter, bearing date July 17, 1634, is still extant, from Laud to the merchants at Delph, commending to them Mr. Beaumont, who had been chosen by joint consent of their Company to be their Preacher, and requiring them to allow him 'the usual ancient stipend' received by his predecessors. He then informed them, that it was the King's wish that they should conform to the doctrine and discipline of

[31] Collier, viii. 104. Clarendon admits it to have been 'a fatal inadvertency,' and to have been caused by the 'unhappy craft' of the Scotch Bishops, contrary to the express directions of Laud, i. 185.

[35] These forces had been in the pay of the States of Holland, ever since the separation of the States from Spain.

the Church of England; and that, about Easter, they should name yearly two Churchwardens, who should look to the orders of the Church, and give an account according to their office. Mr. Beaumont himself also was required to observe all the orders of the Church of England, as prescribed in her Canons and Liturgy; and, if any should disobey this ordinance of the King, his name and offence were to be certified by the Chaplain to the Bishop of London, for the time being, who was to take order and give remedy accordingly[36]. This document is to be noted, as clearly pointing out the time and manner in which the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was made to extend over English congregations abroad.

And over the English Colonies.

But not to English congregations in the various factories of Europe alone, was the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, thus defined, limited. The propositions, tendered by Laud to the Council, and accepted by them, provided that the same regulations should be observed by Companies of Merchants settled 'in any foreign parts;' and, accordingly, Heylyn, in his notice of the above provisions, states that 'the like course also was prescribed for those further off, that is to say in Turkey, in the Mogul's dominions, the Indian Islands, the Plantations in Virginia, the Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade.' He adds, moreover, that 'it was now hoped that there would be a Church of England in all courts of Christendom, in the chief cities of the Turk, and other great Mahometan Princes, in all our Factories and Plantations in every known part of the

[36] Collier, viii. 94.

world, by which it might be rendered as diffused and Catholick as the Church of Rome[37].'

Commission connected therewith.

A better opportunity will be found, in the sequel, to shew how far this hope was realised; but I must not omit to mention one very important document, bearing upon this part of the subject, which was drawn up at this period. It is a Commission, having especial reference to our Colonies in North America, and to the regulation of their spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs, which it places under the controul of the persons named therein, namely, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Treasurer (who was then Bishop Juxon), and others. The powers, granted under this Commission, are expressed in general terms; and, it is probable, were intended only to serve as a basis upon which special Instructions might afterwards be established[38]. We might have

[37] Heylyn, ut sup. 276. Harris, in his Life of Charles I. p. 209, has a note upon this passage in Heylyn, imputing, most unjustly, upon the strength of it, to the Church of England, in his day (1758), a desire to establish the same spiritual despotism in foreign countries as that exercised by Rome, and to maintain it by the same means. He allows also his dissenting prejudices so far to overcome his sense of truth, as to charge, in the same note, all the members of our Church, then employed in the service of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with the basest and most corrupt motives. A passage more discreditable to its writer is rarely to be met with; and it is singular, that the statement which provoked him to put it upon record, is only the expression of a hope, in itself most just, that, wheresoever the name of England was known, her Church might be enabled to prove herself a true branch of the Catholic Church of Christ.

[38] It is to be found in Latin in Hazard, i. 344—346, who quotes it from the Appendix of Pownal on the Colonies; and it is dated April 10, 1634.

hoped,—and, assuredly, it had been well for our Colonies, if the hope could have been realised,—that such Instructions should have been calmly and maturely considered; and not left to have been dictated by the painful exigencies which were created in that day of division and of strife. But the unhappy policy, already adverted to in this chapter, with reference to one portion of our Transatlantic possessions, tells us that such a hope was vain; and those that are to follow will declare the sad results.

Laud's orders affecting the Dutch and Walloon congregations.

Meanwhile, the regulations, which Laud thought it his duty to make with reference to some who were not members of our own Church, served but to hasten the approaching crisis. The command, for instance, issued by him, in 1634, that the Dutch and Walloon congregations, in the Diocese of Canterbury, should use our Liturgy, and observe all duties and payments that were required, was strongly resented by them, as contrary to the privileges which they had received upon their first settlement in this country, and which had been continued from the time of Edward VI. to the present reign[39]. And thus another ingredient of strife was added to the many already in existence and operation both in England and Scotland.

The outbreak of religious feuds in Scotland.

In the latter country, indeed, the disputes of which I have traced the origin and progress, soon reached their height. Without any consultation with the Clergy, or notice to some even of the Bishops themselves and the Lords of the Privy-Council[40], an order was issued to read, upon a given day, July 23, 1637, in all the Churches of Scot-

[39] Rapin, x. 290.

[40] Clarendon, i. 191.

land, the Service Book, which had been approved and ratified by the authorities in England. Nothing further was required to make the fiercest fires of opposition break forth and spread. The scenes of disgraceful tumult which took place in Edinburgh, upon the day appointed for observing the order, are too well known to be again described. The enforcement of the obnoxious Service was in consequence first suspended, and then urged anew; the petitions and remonstrances against it were met by fresh proclamations insisting upon obedience; until, at length, the great body of malcontents (forming a majority of the Scottish people) drew up and signed their Confession of Faith, which they called The Solemn League and Covenant.

The Covenanters.

A Covenant there had been before, agreed to by the Scots, and subscribed by James and his household, in 1580. But to the present instrument certain conditions were added, which essentially altered its character, and, under the cover of them, they who subscribed it not only rejected the recent innovations, but bound themselves to pursue a course, the inevitable result of which was to destroy the very authority which had introduced them. They bound themselves also to assist, and stand by one another, at all adventures: and for the observance of this Covenant, required an oath, couched in the most solemn terms, of all their countrymen;—an act, which in itself was an usurpation of power, and violation of justice, more flagrant than any against which the Covenanters protested[41].

The General Assembly, which soon afterwards met at Glasgow, gave their sanction to the Covenant, and

[41] Neal, i. 610; Heylyn, 356; Clarendon, i. 197.

declared all the acts, touching the religious government of Scotland, which had been passed since the accession of James the First, to be null and void. The Bishops were thereby deposed and excommunicated; and Canons, Liturgy, Articles, all abolished. These proceedings were plainly against the wish and authority of the King; and his High Commissioner ordered, but without effect, the dissolution of the Assembly. Open hostilities consequently commenced; and, although the superiority of Charles's army and fleet was such as to have made success almost certain, yet, by a course of strange mismanagement, he not only failed to strike any decisive blow, but was prevailed upon to agree to Articles of Pacification at Berwick, in 1639, by which all the revolting acts of the General Assembly at Glasgow were ratified, and his own repeated labours to uphold Episcopacy in Scotland scattered to the winds [42].

Parliament convened, and dissolved.

The necessities of the King compelled him, in 1640, to convene a Parliament. But his impatience to be put at once into possession of supplies, and the determination of Parliament not to grant them, until security could be found for redressing the grievances of which complaint was made, soon terminated its existence. Within a few weeks after its assembling, to the grief of all lovers of peace and order, and to the ill dissembled joy of those who were hostile to the King, it was suddenly dissolved. The King himself felt, and expressed great sorrow for, the error which had been thus committed; but sorrow could not repair it. From that very hour, in the quaint, strong language of Fuller, 'did God

[42] Rapin, 359. 376; Clarendon, i. 219.

begin to gather the twiggs of that rod (a civill warr) wherewith soon after He intended to whip a wanton nation[43].' The King's difficulties multiplied on every side; his urgent want of money forced upon him fresh expedients to raise it; and these, in their turn, helped to irritate and alarm the public mind more and more.

Canons of 1640.

But, apart from, and above, all these, was supplied another element of disturbance, which worked with fatal power against the Church; namely, the promulgation of a new body of Canons by the Convocation, which had been summoned at the meeting of the late Parliament. Contrary to general usage, the Convocation had not broken up, on the dissolution of Parliament, but continued its sittings for a month longer under a new writ. The evil of such a proceeding can scarcely be described by any one in more emphatic terms than by him who would have been the last to have spoken with captiousness, or undue harshness, of its abettors. 'It made Canons,' says Clarendon, 'which it was thought it might do; and gave subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly it might not do: in a word, did many things, which in the best of times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst;—and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of the Clergy, to which before only some few Clergymen were exposed[44].' That the Convocation should have ventured to prolong its sittings for a single hour after Parliament had been dissolved, was itself a measure exposed to very grave question. Only one precedent, in the time of Elizabeth, was cited in its

[43] Fuller's Church Hist. xi. 168.

[44] Clarendon, i. 261.

support; and thirty-six members, out of the hundred and twenty who formed the house, protested against it. Among these was the learned and faithful Hacket; and he and the others only did not openly withdraw from the house, because some of the legal authorities of the day declared the continuance of the Convocation to be legal[45].

But, whatsoever difference of opinion might exist as to the authority of the Convocation, there could be none at all as to the illegality of some, and the extravagance and inexpediency of other, acts which were performed under its sanction. To give subsidies, and to enjoin oaths, was manifestly the exercise of a power which it could not rightfully possess: and,—at a time when men's passions were daily vexed by the extreme and oppressive exactions of the Royal prerogative, and by despotic and arbitrary proceedings on every side,—to carry the doctrine of the Regale to such a height as is asserted in the first Canon, and to make such unreserved and wide-sweeping declarations against any change whatsoever in the government of the Church as is contained in the oath under the sixth Canon[46],

[45] Collier, viii. 183.

[46] The oath which enjoined these declarations, it is well known, was called the *et cætera oath;* and Fuller remarks that 'many took exception at the hollownesse of the oath in the middle thereof, having its bowels puffed up with a windie &c., a cheverel word, which might be stretched as men would measure it.' We learn, upon the same authority, that some of the Bishops 'presently pressed the Ministers of their Diocesses, for the taking thereof, and enjoyned them to take this oath kneeling: a ceremony never exacted, or observed, in taking the oath of Supremacy or Allegiance.' B. xi. p. 171.

Neal quotes (i. 633) a letter from Nalson's Collection, p. 497, written by the celebrated Sanderson to Laud, in which he assures

was only to alarm, as the event proved, the moderate and well-affected, and to draw forth angry and clamorous resistance from all besides[47].

The Long Parliament.

The resistance soon came: for, the King's embarrassments compelled him to convene another Parliament before the expiration of that year. It assembled early in November; and will be for ever memorable in history by the name of the Long Parliament. Another Convocation also assembled at the same time; but Fuller relates that its members soon grew tired, 'as never inspirited by commission from the King to meddle with any matters of religion;' and that one of their body proposed 'that they should endeavour, according to the Levitical law, to cover the pit which they had opened, and to prevent their adversaries' intention, by condemning such offensive Canons, as were made in the last Convocation. But

his grace, 'that multitudes of Churchmen, not only of the preciser sort, but of such as were regular and conformable, would utterly refuse to take the oath, or be brought to it with much difficulty and reluctance; so that unless by his Majesty's special direction, the pressing the oath may be forborne for a time: or that a short explanation of some passages in it most liable to exception be sent to several persons, who are to administer the same, to be publicly read before the tender of the said oath,—the peace of this Church is apparently in danger to be more disquieted by this one occasion, than by any thing that has happened within our memories.'—It is difficult to understand how such advice, coming from such a man, at so critical a moment, could have been set at nought.

[47] Fuller, xi. 168–171; Collier, viii. 181–188. It is only justice to Laud, to observe, that in the History of his Troubles, p. 79, he distinctly states that the continuance of the Convocation in 1640, was a course of which he did not approve; and that the King, anxious to receive the subsidies agreed to by Convocation, urged the continuance of its sittings, declaring that the Lord Keeper Finch assured him of the legality of such a proceeding.

it found no acceptance,' he adds, 'they being loath to confess themselves guilty before they were accused.' The proposition itself however afforded strong proof that danger most imminent was felt to be at hand. And, in the second month of the new Parliament, formal charges were drawn up against the late Convocation; and resolutions unanimously passed, declaring that the several Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical, and the several grants of benevolences or contributions, agreed upon during its sittings, did not bind either the Clergy or the Laity of the land; and that many of the matters therein contained were contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of Parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject[48].

Impeachment of Strafford and Laud.

These resolutions were speedily followed by other measures, which proved that the condemnation of past acts was not to be confined to words. Strafford and Laud were both impeached of high treason, in the name of all the Commons of England, and imprisoned. The arrival of the Presbyterian Commissioners at the same time from Scotland, enabled the members of the two Houses, who were appointed to act in the matter, to proceed forthwith with the trial of Strafford. Laud's trial was for the present postponed; and Clarendon expresses his conviction, that, at that time, the enemies of the Archbishop had no 'thought of resuming it, hoping that his age and imprisonment would have quickly

[48] Fuller, xi. 172; Collier, viii. 194. It should be borne in mind that these Canons of 1640 were abrogated soon after the Restoration. 13 Car. II. c. 12.

freed them from further trouble[49].' But symptoms were to be seen on every side of the rancorous and bitter hatred which filled men's hearts. The favour shown to the Presbyterian Commissioners; the joyful triumph with which Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, were welcomed by vast multitudes of people, upon their return to London (under warrants signed by the Speaker) from their respective places of imprisonment; the clamorous abuse heaped by the populace upon the Bishops; the numerous and urgent petitions presented for the total extirpation of their office; the appointment of a Committee of Religion consisting of members of Parliament; the eagerness with which complaints and reproaches against the Clergy were brought before them, and the unrestrained licence given both to the pulpit and press to pour forth invectives against the Church, her services, her orders, and the persons of her ministers[50]; were all formidable indications of the tempest that was ready to burst

[49] Clarendon, i. 335.

[50] Clarendon, 348—358. Of the heap of scurrilous pamphlets which appeared in that day upon the above subjects, the majority have long since been forgotten, as they deserved to be. But there was a higher class of controversial writings which, the reader will remember, was called into existence, from 1639 to 1641, by the conflict then raging. The most conspicuous of these, on the one side, were Archbishop Usher's Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, and the treatise of Bishop Hall, entitled, Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted, with his various replies in its defence; and, on the other side, the pamphlet of Hall's five Presbyterian opponents, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, who wrote under the appellation of Smectymnuus, (formed by the initial letters of their respective names,) and the Animadversions and Apology for Smectymnuus, and other tracts upon the same subject, by Milton.

upon the head of the devoted Primate, and of the desolation that was to follow.

Execution of Strafford.

Before the summer of the next year (1641) arrived, the enemies of Strafford had achieved their object. His skill, and courage, and touching eloquence, availed him nothing. The bill of his attainder was passed by the Commons, in haste, and with an overwhelming majority; by the Lords, with reluctance, and delay, and diminished numbers; the voices of less than half the whole number of those who had heard his trial being left to confirm his sentence, and the people at the gates intimidating them by their clamour. When the bill came to be considered by the King, Bishop Juxon alone urged him to reject it. He would fain have done so. But the continued violence of the people,—joined with shameful sophistry of argument on the part of his counsellors, and the touching entreaty even of Strafford himself, conjuring him not to resist,—at length wrung from the King, in spite of protestations and of promises, the assent to his execution[51].

[51] Rapin, xi. 162; Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, part ii. p. 161; Clarendon, i. 456—459; Smythe's Lectures, i. 381. The terms in which Laud notices the death of Strafford in the History of his Troubles, written during his imprisonment, are too important to be omitted: 'Notwithstanding the hard fate which fell upon him [Strafford], he is dead with more honour, than any of them will gain who hunted after his life. The only imperfections which he had, that were known to me, were his want of bodily health, and a carelessness (or rather roughness) not to oblige any: and his mishaps in this last action were, that he groaned under the public envy of the nobles, served a mild and gracious Prince, who knew not how to be, or be made, great; and trusted false, perfidious and cowardly men in the Northern employment, though he had many doubts put to him about it.' p. 178.

Act for the indefinite prolongation of Parliament.

The same day, on which the King signed the commission for the Lords to pass Strafford's attainder, witnessed also his signature to the Bill by which the session was to continue, during the pleasure of both Houses of Parliament; a measure, ostensibly brought forward for the purpose of giving good security for a loan, but which, in reality, ensured to the irritated opponents of the King, the opportunity of maturing, without fear of interruption, whatsoever designs they entertained against him [52]. Some of the early acts, indeed, of the Long Parliament, were nothing more than those which truth and justice demanded at the hands of honest and patriotic men; and, had its course been terminated by these acts, or carried on only in conformity with them, all might yet have been well. The abolition, for instance, of the High Commission Court, and of the Star Chamber, which was accomplished by two separate Acts passed for that purpose, in 1641, put an end to a fruitful source of intolerable tyranny and corruption. I have never disguised or palliated the enormous evils, inflicted by these two tribunals upon the Church and people of England; and with gratitude record the fact of their abolition.

Abolition of the High Commission Court and Star Chamber.

Aggressions of Parliament.

But a different feeling is excited, when we review the measures which pre-

[52] Again, let Laud's words be noted: 'At this time the Parliament tendered two, and but two, Bills to the King to sign. This to cut off Strafford's head was one; and the other was that this Parliament should neither be dissolved nor adjourned but by the consent of both Houses; in which, what he cut off from himself, time will better show than I can. God bless the King, and his Royal Issue.' History of his Troubles, ut sup.

ceded and followed these. The Bills, early brought in by the Commons, to 'take away the Bishops' votes in Parliament,' and 'for the utter eradication of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters,'—although the first of them was rejected by the Lords, and the second, after it was twice brought forward, did not then reach its ultimate stage in the Commons,—showed the quarter towards which the current of their excited passions was turned. It soon set in with greater violence. Courageous and faithful men,—Hacket, for example, —essayed to stem it; but they were overborne. A new Bill, to take away the Bishops' votes in Parliament, passed the Commons. The liberty of the Clergy to interfere in any temporal matter whatsoever, was strenuously denied; whilst, yet, with strange inconsistency, some of the English Puritan Ministers were, at the same time, avowedly exercising the most direct and important influence, upon subjects which came under daily discussion in the House of Commons; and Alexander Henderson, the Presbyterian Minister of Scotland, was assuming a dictation in temporal affairs more lordly than any which had been manifested by the Bishops of that country[53]. Nay, the Commons made it a subject of direct complaint, that the King should presume to exercise his undoubted right of filling up five Bishoprics at that time vacant. It mattered not that the men, appointed to the respective Sees, were allowed to possess the highest possible character for piety, learning, and discretion; the mere

[53] Clarendon, i. 410—418. 482—484. ii. 25. The Bishops referred to in the next sentence were Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford; Winniff, Dean of St. Paul's; Brownrigge, Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge; King, Dean of Lichfield; and Westfield, Incumbent of St. Bartholomew's.

fact of their nomination to the office of Bishop, was deemed an offence. The Bishops, who still desired to discharge their duties in Parliament, were driven by the populace from the doors of the House; and, when some of them, obeying the evil counsel of Williams, Archbishop of York, drew up and signed a protestation upon the subject, they were forthwith accused of high treason, and committed to the Tower, where they remained for several months, until the Bill, depriving them of their seats in Parliament, had passed. The King, in his turn, charged certain members of the House of Commons with high treason; tried to seize their persons; and, finding that they had escaped into the city, followed them thither; demanded that they should be delivered up into his hands; and forbade any to harbour them. But the accused members were never given up to him. The people would not obey. They crowded around the King, as he passed along, with scowling looks and insulting words; and a paper was thrown into the window of his carriage, bearing the inscription, 'To your tents, O Israel[54].'

Civil war begins.

These were words of fatal omen; and others of like import quickly followed them. But, ere long, remonstrances, petitions, and declarations, cease to be heard or answered. The weapons of war are made ready; and, before the end of the next year, the standards of opposing armies are set up;—the King, and his adherents, on one side; the Parliament, with its leaders, on the other[55]. Then comes the fearful shock of battle upon the hills, and plains, and valleys, of once happy England. It is no foreign

[54] Clarendon, ii. 113—124; Rapin, xi. 316.

[55] The King's standard was set up at Nottingham, Aug. 25, 1642. Clarendon, iii. 190.

invader who marches to and fro; but citizen arrayed against citizen, father against son, brother against brother. Now, shouts the Cavalier the cry of triumph; and now, the Roundhead. But, whosoever falls or conquers, he bears alike the name of Englishman; and so the land of the survivor is left more desolate. The spirits of the noblest of our countrymen are broken, and their faces pale with sorrow, as they gaze upon the scene; their sleep passes from them; and their hearts are ready to break, as with 'shrill and sad accent' they cry, 'Peace, Peace:' but no peace comes unto them, save that which the swift-winged messenger of death brings with it, amid the din and carnage of the battle [56].

Yet not to the high places of the field is the strife confined. The eye shall turn from Edgehill and Newbury, from Marston-moor and Naseby, and see, in the assemblies of men not armed with sword or spear, fresh elements of confusion and misery at work. Let our attention chiefly be directed to those which wrought the downfall of the Church; that, seeing the heavy trials through which she thus passed at home, we may learn the severity of those which her children, in distant Colonies, were soon made to suffer.

Assembly of Divines.

And, first, in the Assembly of Divines, which met, for the first time, in the chapel of Henry VII., on Sunday, July 1, 1643, we trace a determination to act, both in spiritual and civil matters, upon principles recognized neither by the Church, nor by the law of the land. It consisted of 121 Clergymen, not appointed by the King,—nay, his

[56] See Clarendon's Account of Falkland, who fell at Newbury, in 1643, iv. 255.

proclamation had been issued, expressly forbidding them to meet for the present object,—nor yet chosen by their brethren, to be their representatives in lawful synod. The sole authority, by which they were summoned, was that of an ordinance of Parliament; the knights and burgesses of which had selected them, as a council to act on their behalf, in all such matters as might be proposed to them by the two Houses, touching the government, and liturgy, and doctrine of the Church. To these were added thirty Lay-Assessors, consisting of ten Peers and twenty Commoners, who possessed an equal right of debating and of voting with the Divines [57].

Its constitution and character.

The establishment of some such Assembly had been strongly pressed before, both in the Remonstrance of the House of Commons to the King, on the first of December, 1641; and, also, during the spring of 1643, in the negotiation at Oxford. But its constitution and assembling at the present time arose from the necessity imposed upon Parliament, through its reverses, of calling in the aid of the Scots; and the condition insisted upon by the Scots, that 'there should be an uniformity of doctrine and discipline between the two nations.' To prepare the way for the attainment of this end, was the avowed object of the Assembly; and, it is plain, therefore, that an overwhelming majority of its members must have been the avowed partisans of a Parliament, already committed, by its necessities, to the adoption of most unjustifiable measures. Clarendon, indeed, states, that there were not above twenty of the whole number of Divines,

[57] Neal, ii. 208—210; Collier, viii. 258.

'who were not declared enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance; and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England.' Baxter, on the other hand, describes them as 'men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity,' and asserts, that 'the Christian world, since the days of the Apostles, had never a synod of more excellent Divines than this and the synod of Dort[58].' The censure and the eulogy pronounced by these writers are alike overstrained. But, let the character of the Divines who composed the Assembly have been what it might, they were, manifestly, not competent, as a body, to decide the questions submitted to them, touching the doctrine, liturgy, and government of the Church, for the Church was not fairly represented among them; and the arguments which she had to urge, were neither stated with fulness, nor heard with patience. It mattered not that the names of some of her most faithful and able ministers, such as Brownrigge, Hacket, Hammond, Morley, Prideaux, Usher, and Sanderson, were to be found in the list of the Assembly; its very constitution precluded these men from ever appearing in it, or taking any part in its proceedings. And, in respect to others who were constant in their attendance, there was no sufficient guarantee given that a just balance would be held between contending parties, even in the honoured names of Selden and Hale, among the Lay-Assessors, or in those of Caryl, and Gataker, and Lightfoot, and

[58] Neal, ii. 206; Clarendon, ii. 424; Baxter's Life, part i. p. 93.

Reynolds, and others among the Divines. For the sympathies of these men were with the Presbyterian party, which was now seeking, by unlawful means, to avenge itself upon the Church for the acts of which she stood accused; and they were either carried away by the current of tumultuous feelings to ends which they secretly disapproved; or, if they resisted its course, their resistance was useless [59].

Presbyterians. Independents, and Erastians.

Of the origin and progress of the Presbyterians in England, and of the distinction between them and the Brownists or Barrowists, in the time of Elizabeth, a brief account has been already given. It has been stated also, that the principles of the latter party were, with some modification, those advocated by the Congregationalists, who had settled at Leyden under Robinson, and who now, returning to England, were called Independents [60]. The opposition between these two parties began to assume a distinct form, at an early period of the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines:—the Presbyterians, on the one hand, maintaining, as of divine right, that mode of government, which, being vested, in the first instance, in the minister and lay-elders of a parish, is, in its turn, controuled by the classical assembly, and by the provincial, national, and œcumenical synod: the Independents, on the other hand, asserting that 'every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and ample jurisdiction of its members to be exercised by the elders thereof within itself.' A third class of

[59] Gataker, for instance, opposed the introduction of the Solemn League and Covenant, and advocated the authority of Episcopacy in the Assembly, but without effect. Biog. Brit.

[60] See pp. 122. 357, *ante*.

opinions, called Erastian, also found its advocates among several of the leading members of the Assembly on both sides. They were so called from Erastus, a German physician and divine of the sixteenth century; and their object was to shew, that the spiritual authority of the clergy was only such as could be maintained by convincing the reason, or influencing the affections; that it was not lawful for them to exercise the coercive authority of the keys; and, that, where punishment for offences, either of a civil or religious nature, was demanded, it could properly be inflicted by none but the civil magistrate[61].

The Solemn League and Covenant subscribed by the English Parliament.

The majority of the Assembly were of the Presbyterian side; and the influence of Henderson, and the three other Presbyterian ministers, who were sent from Scotland as Commissioners, to take part in its proceedings, joined with the earnest desire of Parliament to obtain the assistance of the Scots in prosecuting the war against the King, speedily led to the subscription of the Solemn League and Covenant by the English Parliament. It was laid before the Assembly, in less than seven weeks from the date of its first meeting; received its instant and hearty approval; and was despatched the next day to the two Houses, with a letter entreating that it might be forthwith confirmed. Accordingly it was read, September 25, 1643, article by article, in St. Margaret's

[61] Short's History of the Church of England, § 587; Apolog. Narrat., &c. quoted by Neal, ii. 265, 266, who gives also a minute account of the discussions and divisions, which took place in the Assembly by the respective advocates of the above opinions. Ib. 354—389.

Church, Westminster, before the Members of both Houses, the Scots Commissioners, and the Assembly of Divines, 'each person standing uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, and swearing to the performance of it.' The Commons and the Assembly subscribed it forthwith in the chancel of the Church; the Lords did the same on the 15th of October; in Scotland, all persons were required, by the committee of states, to swear to and subscribe it, on pain of confiscation of their property; and, throughout all England, on the 2nd of the following February, it was commanded to be taken by every person above the age of eighteen years. It professed a sincere endeavour, on the part of all who subscribed it, to preserve 'the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government,—and to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of Church-government, directory for worship, and catechizing;' to extirpate 'Popery, prelacy (that is, Church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness;' to preserve 'the King's person, and authority,' as well as 'the rights and liberties of Parliaments;' to punish all 'incendiaries, malignants, and evil instruments,' who should do any thing 'contrary to the league and covenant;' and mutually to assist one another in the 'common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the Kingdom[62].'

[62] Neal, ii. 217—222.

To impose this covenant upon all men, as a test of their obedience, was a tyrant's work; and, with the spirit of a tyrant, it was carried forward. No civil right or office was allowed to remain with the possessor, unless he submitted to the test: and the English who resided abroad were not exempted from it any more than those at home[63]. As for the Clergy, if they refused to take it in their own persons, or to tender it to their parishioners, they were at once ejected from their livings; and their places occupied by those who had subscribed it. The whole framework of the Church was thus virtually destroyed; although the ordinance of Parliament for its abolition had not yet been issued. There were no longer any visitations, or ecclesiastical courts; nor was any regard paid to the Canons, or ceremonies, or even the Book of Common Prayer. All matters of business connected with the Church passed through the hands of the Assembly; ministers were elected by their parishioners; examined and approved by the Assembly; and confirmed in their benefices by Parliament, without any regard to the Bishop or his Commissary. The work of expulsion proceeded quickly. From headships of Colleges, and from fellowships, in the two Universities, from livings and lectureships, hundreds were driven forth, amid cruel insults and reproaches; and the greater part of them, for no other crime than that of stedfast fidelity to their spiritual rulers, and loyalty to their King.

Sufferings of the Clergy.

The charges brought forward against some of the

[63] Ib. ii. 224. The very same course was here pursued by the Puritan party, which had been so loudly condemned by them in the case of Laud, and the English Congregations at Delph and other places. Ib. i. 552.

expelled Clergy, upon grounds of immorality or incompetency, might doubtless have been true. In the case of so large a body of men, it could scarcely have been otherwise. But, not now to dwell upon the unlawfulness of the tribunals before which they were tried, and the unscrupulous proceedings which were dignified by the name of justice, the number of the Clergy who were proved unworthy of their sacred office, bore no proportion whatsoever to the many who suffered for the truth's sake. In Walker's History of the Sufferings of the Clergy, abundant testimony is supplied to prove this fact; testimony, which, after every qualification which it may be thought by some persons to receive from the opposing evidence of Neal, and Baxter, and Calamy,—but which I think Walker has well refuted in his Preface,—remains to shew an appalling aggregate of crime and misery. Collier indeed states, upon the authority of Fuller, that 'there were more turned out of their livings by the Presbyterians in three years, than were deprived by the Papists in Queen Mary's reign; or had been silenced, suspended, or deprived by all the Bishops, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth, to the time we are upon.' And even Neal is forced to confess, with the same historian, that 'the veins of the English Church were emptied of much good blood.' All this proves the truth of another remark of Fuller respecting the Presbyterians, that they who 'desired most ease and liberty for their sides when bound with Episcopacy, now girt their own garment the closest about the consciences of others [64].

Description

But their conduct in disposing of the

[64] Collier, viii. 269; Neal, ii. 263; Fuller, xi. 212.

preferments which they thus got into their own hands, reflects not less disgrace upon them than did the mode in which they drove out their rightful possessors. For Fuller tells us, that,

of their persecutors by Fuller.

'To supply the vacant places, many young students (whose Orders got the speed of their Degrees) left the Universities. Other Ministers, turned Duallists and Pluralists; it being now charity what was formerly covetousness, to hold two or three benefices. Many vicaridges of great cure, but small value, were without Ministers, (whilst rich matches have many suitors, they may die virgins that have no portions to prefer them) which was often complained of, seldom redressed; it passing for a current maxim, it was safer for people to fast than to feed on the poyson of Malignant Pastours.'

But Fuller, it may be said, was attached to the King's cause: and his testimony, therefore, may bear harder against the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines than they deserved. Let us turn therefore to Milton, that unrelenting enemy of the King and of the Church, and see the terms in which he describes the acts of the said Assembly:

And Milton.

'To reform religion,' (he says) 'a certain number of Divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of Parliament, in his private fancy, thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had cried down, with great shew of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of Bishops and Prelates, that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (ere any part of the task was done for which they came together, and that on the public salary), wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept, (besides one, sometimes two or more, of the best livings,) collegiate masterships

in the University, rich lectures in the city; setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms: by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation, doubtless, by their own mouths. And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers; trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous and (as they hesitated not to term them) godly men, but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly. So that, between them, the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of the reformation [65].'

The Directory.

Whilst the enemies of the Church were thus making havoc of her temporal possessions, her spiritual ordinances were assailed and overthrown by the same hands. A few weeks after the meeting of the Assembly of Divines, a method of conducting the public devotions of the people by some other means than that of the ancient Liturgy, was submitted to their deliberation: and, having received their sanction and that of the General Assembly of Scotland, it was established by an ordinance of Parliament, January 3, 1644-5, under the title of A Directory for Public Worship. This was soon followed by another ordinance, which made it compulsory upon the ministers of each parish to read the Book of Directory, before morning sermon, on the Sunday after they had received it; and forbade the use of the Book of Common Prayer in any Church, Chapel, or place of public worship, or in any private place or family,

Prohibition of the Prayer Book.

[65] Fuller, xi. 208; Milton, vii. 401. Symmons's Ed.

under penalty of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for the third a year's imprisonment. Fines also were imposed upon any one who should refuse to observe the Directory, or dare to preach, write, or print, any thing in derogation of it. Such were "the tender mercies" of Presbyterian discipline! Such was the respect paid to the rights of other men's consciences, by those who had been so resolute and clamorous for the preservation of their own! It moved the Independents themselves to remonstrate; but the plea of toleration, which they strenuously urged, was urged in vain [66].

Laud executed.

Meanwhile, the enemy, whom Presbyterians and Independents alike regarded with bitterest hatred, was not yet cast out. Hugh Peters, with a refinement of ferocious cruelty to which it would be difficult to find a parallel, wished to banish him to New England, that the vengeance of its Puritan settlers might be wreaked upon him [67]; but Parliament chose to reserve that wretched triumph to itself. Worn down with age, poverty, sorrow, and painful imprisonment, Laud was now powerless to injure any who once had feared him; and, in a few more years or months, his last sand of life must have run out. Nevertheless, to gratify the feelings of the Scots, with whom the members of the English Parliament were now fast friends [68], he was brought to the bar of the House of Lords for trial, March 12, 1643-4. To the fourteen former articles of impeachment, were now added ten others, which charged him with divers acts of treason, by endeavouring to subvert the go-

[66] Neal, ii. 274. 277; Collier, viii. 297—302.

[67] It was moved in the House of Commons, May 1, 1643.

[68] Neal, ii. 286.

vernment, and make the council table, the Canons of the Church, and the King's prerogative above the law; by interrupting the cause of justice; by favouring Popish doctrines, opinions, and censures, and persecuting all who opposed them; by dividing the Church of England from the foreign Protestant Churches; and by alienating the King's mind from his Parliaments.

In support of these charges, every public document, supposed to be associated with Laud, was brought forward; the most invidious interpretation forced upon it; and all his private papers, even those which contained the record of his prayers, were ransacked. He was, as he himself said, 'sifted to the bran;' and any hint, or allusion, which could be gathered from all that he had ever written, or said, or done, in his whole life, and which could by possibility be converted into material of accusation, was eagerly laid hold of, and pressed against him. The persecuted Prynne was now the persecutor; and, with the malignity of a fiend, executed that hateful office; entering the prison-chamber of the Primate, whilst he was in bed; searching the pockets of his garments; carrying off every thing upon which he could lay his hands, save a small sum of money; refusing to let him have even a copy of his own manuscripts, unless it were made at his own charge; in spite of promises that they should all be returned to him, restoring only three out of the twenty-one parcels thus seized; and supplying each Peer with garbled copies of his Diary, on the day on which he was permitted to enter upon the recapitulation of his defence. Prynne's spirit was a sample of that which animated the rest of his persecutors. After a lingering trial of more than

eight months, the Lords, who had only attended partially, and in scanty numbers, voted that he was guilty of such things, as, in the unanimous opinion of the Judges, did not amount to treason; and, in their first conference with the Commons, expressed their opinion to that effect. The Commons, however, resolute in their purpose, had a second conference with the miserable remnant of Lords who were still bold enough to attend it; and, by their voices, the ordinance of attainder under which Laud was executed, was passed upon the same day which witnessed the enactment of the Parliamentary ordinance for the abolition of the Book of Common Prayer and for the establishment of the Directory. It was the ordinance of a Parliament at open war with the King; and, without the consent of the King, the execution could not be lawful. The King did not only not give his consent, but caused assurance of his pardon to be conveyed to Laud. It was pleaded in arrest of judgment; and, of course, in vain. The sole indulgence which could be obtained,—and that, not until the first application for it had been rejected,—was, that the aged prelate should die, not upon the gibbet, but by the axe. Upon the 10th of January, 1644-5, Laud was beheaded on Tower-hill. And, in the readiness with which he prepared himself for death; the patience with which he endured insults and reproaches, which, even to the last, were heaped upon him; the clearness and fidelity with which he vindicated himself, upon the scaffold, from the charges against which, before his judges, he had pleaded in vain; and the faithful, earnest prayer with which, in that solemn hour, he implored God, for Jesus Christ's sake, to pardon his sins, and to restore peace and happiness to the King,

the Parliament, the Church, and the 'distracted and distressed people[69];' we see all that can win for him our reverence and admiration.

His character.

The feelings thus excited, when we contemplate the close of Laud's career, make it difficult to form and express a true judgment upon his character. Nevertheless, this must be attempted; or the review, taken of events in which he bore so prominent a part, will have been made in vain. There are those, indeed, who hate the very name of Laud with a bitterness so intense, as to apply, to every act and word of his, the same wide-sweeping sentence of condemnation; whilst others, with every sympathy quickened into action in his behalf, are slow to recognise his infirmities, and the evils of which he was the author. The truth, however, must not be sacrificed by the indulgence of extravagant censure or praise. The question to be considered is, whether the power of those admirable qualities, displayed by Laud during his imprisonment, and trial, and at his death, may be found controuling him throughout the previous stages of his life; or, whether they were only the seed that was sown, and the fruit that was ripened, by severe and lengthened chastisement. The answer to be returned to this question by the impartial enquirer will, I believe, be this; that, whilst chastisement purified and strengthened these qualities, and, but for its severity, their greatness would never have been fully proved, the source, from which they were derived, had always been within him.

The pious devotion, for example, which was his

[69] Cobbett's State Trials, iv. 353; Laud's speech, &c. in his 'Summarie of Devotions,' 220—235. Oxford Edit. 1838.

stay and solace when all earthly comfort had departed, did not then, for the first time, sustain and guide him. The record of his private devotions is still extant, in which he repeated, upon each day, the word of confession, of prayer, of praise; and strove to turn to his soul's profit the remembrance of some of the most memorable events which befel him in the course of his troubled life. He has noted, throughout those pages, in each recurring year, and in tones of deepest humiliation, the offences which he had committed[70]; and has thus supplied, as his earliest biographer remarks, 'a brave example of a penitent, and afflicted soul, which many of us may admire, but few will imitate[71].' The foulest libeller will hardly dare to say, that the tracing of such words with his hand, or the repeating them with his lips, was hypocrisy on his part; for no man could have known that such tokens of holy communion between him and the great Father of spirits ever existed, had not the spoiler rifled every secret and treasured paper belonging to him. The character of such records bespeaks their truthfulness.

And that this spirit of devotion enabled Laud to resist and triumph over many a temptation which assailed him in his daily walk, is evident from the fact, that, amid many examples of gross profligacy, no stain was attempted to be cast upon his own temperate and chaste deportment; and, in an age greedy of spoil and reckless as to the means of gathering it, his hands, although wielding enormous

[70] His prayer, for instance, respecting the marriage of the Earl of Devonshire with the divorced Lady Rich, Dec. 26, 1605; and another dated July 28, 1617, and March 6, 1641-2.

[71] Heylyn, 59.

power, were never soiled by dishonest gains. And yet, whilst he resolutely refrained from accumulating riches for the purpose of self-indulgence, he was unwearied, as he was generous, in prosecuting works of public munificence and private bounty. His weekly almsgiving, his daily hospitality, his affection for the poor of his native town of Reading[72], his noble benefactions to the University of Oxford, his zeal, discrimination, and kindness, in befriending men whose piety and learning shed upon that age a lustre that will never fail,—all these bear witness to the depth and largeness of Laud's charity.

Nevertheless, the course which he pursued, was marked by ruin to himself, and to the Church of which he was a chief overseer; and, for a large share of the causes which led to this destruction, he must, in his own person, be held responsible. One of the most prominent of these was an irritability of temper, manifesting itself in rudeness of speech and manner, which, even if his station had been less exalted, or his lot cast in less troublous times, must have exposed his acts to grievous misconstruction: and, of course, amid the difficulties by which he was daily and hourly beset, there was nothing which more easily gave repeated advantage to his enemies, or inflicted greater injury upon his own cause. The description which Clarendon gives, in his History of

[72] The following entry in his Journal supplies a touching proof of this: 'The way to do the town of Reading good, for their poor: which may be compassed, by God's blessing upon me, though my wealth be small. And I hope God will bless me in it, because it was his own motion in me. For this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much beaten them about it) till this night, as I was at my prayers. Jan. 1, 1633-4.'

the Rebellion[73], of the extent of this infirmity; the narrative which he relates, in the History of his own life[74], of his free expostulation with the Archbishop respecting it; the allusions, constantly to be met with in contemporary writers, to the same subject[75]; and, indeed, the frank and unreserved confession of the Archbishop himself, 'that it was an infirmity which his nature and education had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend with it[76],' all concur in shewing the aggravated power with which this evil oppressed him.

But miseries more ruinous than any which could be excited by an irascible temperament, or hasty speech, arose from his belief, that, in order to give full effect to the benefits derived from the spiritual duties of the ecclesiastic, it was necessary to annex to it the multifarious avocations of the statesman. His enemies, indeed, would fain shew that Laud strove after this kind of power, only from his love of political scheming, and the force of self-interested ambition. But here, again, the workings of his mind, as they are laid open to us in his Diary and Summarie of Devotions, supply distinct evidence of the conviction entertained by him, that such power was the appointed and lawful channel, through which the saving ordinances of the Gospel of Christ might spread more effectually throughout the land, and the glory of God be more signally advanced. The well-known entry in

[73] Vol. i. 175—180.

[74] Vol. i. 70—74.

[75] Fuller, for instance, in his own peculiar manner, speaking of the excellent qualities of Bishop Juxon, shrewdly remarks that 'he had a perfect command of his passion (an happiness not granted to all Clergymen in that age, though Privy Counsellors).' xi. 150.

[76] Clarendon's Life, ut sup. i. 73.

his Diary, March 6, 1636, respecting his appointment of Bishop Juxon to the office of Lord Treasurer, may be cited as one of the many evidences of the fact:

'William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England: no Churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time, I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now, if the Church will not hold themselves up under God, I can do no more.'

Nothing could be conceived better fitted to offend and alarm the country, than such an appointment at such a time; and the grounds of objection against it could not be removed [77], howsoever they might have been mitigated, by Juxon's excellent administration of its duties. Neither is it easy to understand through what process a mind like that of Laud, could be led to the conclusion, that the Church could only hold herself up by the appointment of her Bishops to such offices as these:—the just conclusion rather being, that, if by such means only her strength could be sustained, the sooner she fell the better. Nevertheless, mistaken though it were, it is impossible not to admit, that Laud's sole motive for the appointment of Juxon to the Treasurership, was, 'that the Church' might have 'honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it.' A like motive, I believe, it was, mistaken, yet sincere, which, actuating his life from the beginning, was quickened into stronger action, when,—in the maturity of his manhood, and already consecrated Bishop of St. David's [78],

[77] Clarendon, i. 175; Fuller, xi. 150.

[78] This took place Nov. 18, 1621, when Laud was in his 48th year.

—he became entangled in the confidence and friendship of the profligate Buckingham, then in the zenith of his power, at the court of James I. It was an intimacy fraught with ruin. As a compromise of Laud's spiritual character and office, it is, for its own sake, and independently of all other consequences, to be deplored; and it is most discreditable to Heylyn, that he should be found relating minutely the manner in which Laud's confidential agency, in behalf of Buckingham, was carried on[79], and never once seem conscious that such employments ill accorded with the duties of a Bishop of the Church of Christ. That Laud's personal integrity was not corrupted by the relations thus formed, and that he ever strove to make them serve nobler ends, is evident from the allusions found in the record of his private thoughts[80]. Nevertheless, the scandal of such a position was not thereby removed.

But greater evils yet resulted from Laud's intimate relations with Buckingham. In the first place, the necessity was laid upon him of being almost always absent from his Diocese, the personal superintendence of which was his first duty; and which, in the case of others, he afterwards rigidly enforced. And, next, he became thereby the adviser and promoter of measures with which it had been good for him and for the Church, if he had never been associated. Some of the most prominent of these have been before noticed. They were completed in the lifetime of Buckingham; and, for them, in a subordinate degree, Laud was responsible. But, when Buckingham fell by the assas-

[79] Heylyn, 113.

[80] See the prayers *Pro Duce Buckinghamiæ*, &c. in his Devotions.

sin's hand, in 1628, the influence acquired by Laud in the councils of his Sovereign, permitted him no longer to remain, in the language of his biographer, 'an inferior minister in the ship of State,' entrusted only with 'the trimming of the sails, the super-inspection of the bulgings and leakings of it; but he is called unto the helm, and steers the course thereof by his sage directions [81].'

Would that he had never been called to the helm, and never essayed to steer the vessel of the State! The melancholy contrast would not then have been supplied, which now exists, between this description of the vaunted wisdom of the pilot, and the miserable wreck of all that was entrusted to his keeping. Others, indeed, might have failed, like him, to weather the fierce tempest; and, like him, have been denied the privilege of perishing alone. But we should have been spared the humiliating thought, which now is forced upon us, that he, against whom men then clamoured as the cause of their misfortunes, was one, who had been, for nearly a quarter of a century, consecrated to the office of a Bishop of our Church; and, for the greater part of that period, not only her chief spiritual ruler, but the prime administrator of all civil, as well as of all ecclesiastical, affairs.

Neither should we have had to lament the fact, which the sequel of this history will abundantly shew, —and the importance of which has alone induced me to tarry so long upon the present portion of the narrative,—that the difficulties of the Church abroad, both then and afterwards, were as directly identified with the name and acts of the same ruler, as those by which she was laid prostrate at home.

[81] Heylyn, 187.

The evils which befel our Transatlantic colonies, during the administration of Laud, were, briefly, the oppression of Puritans in New England, the neglect of Churchmen in Virginia, and the favour of Romanists in Maryland. And, because I neither palliate nor disguise these, I am the more anxious to shew the invalidity of that charge which his enemies pressed against him so eagerly in his day, and which some may think is confirmed by such an admission in our own, that Laud was, in his heart, a believer in all the doctrines, and an abettor of the usurped authority, of the Church of Rome. That there were some ceremonies performed indeed by him which savoured of superstition; which were unauthorised by our Church; by which the minds of many were justly offended and alarmed; and the observance of which therefore must be a subject of sincere regret, there can be no doubt; although, even with respect to some of these, the facts of the case were widely different from those which his accusers represented[82]. It is true, also, that he did not resort to the indignant language, which some would have employed, when he rejected the offer made to him, in 1633, of a Cardinal's hat; but let those, who would pervert this circumstance into an accusation against him, call to mind his own allusion to it upon his trial, when he said, 'If to offer a Cardinal's hat, or any like thing, shall be a sufficient cause to make a man guilty of treason, it shall be in the power of any Romanist to make any English Bishop a traitor when he pleases[83].' It is not upon such grounds alone that the imputation of apostasy

[82] See his account of the Consecration of the Church of St. Catherine Cree, in the History of his Troubles, &c., 339—341.

[83] Ibid. 389.

upon the part of Laud can, without shameful injustice, be made to rest. The falsehood of the charge is shewn in the terms of his memorable speech as a Peer in Parliament, in 1637 [84], and, afterwards, upon his trial; on both which occasions he proves that some of the acts alleged against him were not true, and successfully vindicates many others from the misconstruction forced upon them. These answers, the impartial reader should examine for himself; for it is impossible to abridge them here. But, more than all, the character of Laud's triumphant conference with Fisher, the Jesuit, in 1622, must ever bear witness to his integrity, as a faithful son of the Church of England. It may be regarded, indeed, as an *à priori* proof of the falsehood of any accusations, which cast reproach upon that integrity. I grant that some may now be disposed to admit the reasonableness of such a conclusion, who remember with pain, in our own day, that there is one who distinguished himself, in like manner, by a publication against the Church of Rome, at one period of his life, and yet, within a few years afterwards, retracted every word of censure, which, there, or elsewhere, he may have spoken respecting her, and is now an ordained Priest in her communion. But,—not to dwell upon the many and essential points of difference in the arguments of Laud, in his Conference with Fisher, and those of Newman, in his Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church,—it should be borne in mind that the latter writer has since confessed, that his words of condemnation against Rome, in that and other publications, were, when he delivered them, not so much his own, as

[84] Heylyn, 335—341.

those which he believed were authorised by 'a consensus of the Divines of our Church;' that he wished 'to throw himself into their system;' feeling himself 'safe,' as long as he said what they said; and that such views also were 'necessary for our position[85].' But where can the trace of any such spirit be found in the writings or acts of Laud? He never threw himself into the ranks of the champions of the Reformed Church of England, merely that he might feel himself safe among them, but because truth summoned him to their side; he neither repeated their words, nor upheld their arguments, merely because they were necessary for a position not otherwise defensible, but because his duty to God and His Church could not be discharged without them. His outward profession, therefore, never was in one direction, whilst his affections, perhaps unconsciously, were in another; but, with singleness of heart and purpose, he inwardly adhered to all that he publicly declared. Not only was no argument urged by Laud against Fisher ever retracted, no word of censure which he was constrained to speak against Rome, either then or at any other time, ever repented of; but he reprinted, in an enlarged form, in 1638, nearly six years after he had been raised to the Primacy, the very work which, sixteen years before, had been the first record of that conference. Let this important fact be carefully borne in mind, and be cherished with gratitude, by those who feel,—as all who read the work with attention and impartiality must feel,—that it is one of the noblest vindications of truth which have ever been

[85] Newman's Preface to his Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, p. ix.

produced in the controversy between us and Rome. Let the vigilance also, and the boldness with which, in the year before this republication, Laud baffled the schemes of Panzani, and of Con, the Pope's nuncio, be remembered as another proof of his unswerving integrity with respect to the points at issue between the two Churches. And that the cause thus maintained by Laud was not a matter of state policy, but one which he regarded as necessary to defend the individual man from error dangerous to his soul's health, is further evident from the effort which he made, a few years before, to win back his godson and friend, William Chillingworth, from that communion with Rome into which he had been seduced by Fisher; and the success of which effort was signally proved by the publication, in 1638, of Chillingworth's immortal work, The Religion of Protestants, a safe Way to Salvation[86].' It was, doubtless, the recollection of these and other evidences, too numerous to be here recounted[87], which, according to Evelyn, led the English Roman Catholics, to rejoice at the tidings which came to them at Rome of Laud's death, as of one who had been their most troublesome enemy; and, for the same reason, the Roman Catholic historian of this country, in our own day, has frankly acknowledged that, whilst Laud 'wished to retain several religious

[86] Laud alludes to this circumstance, in very touching terms, in the course of his trial, saying, 'Mr. Chillingworth's learning and abilities are sufficiently known to all your Lordships. He was gone, and settled at Douay. My letters brought him back; and he lived and died a defender of the Church of England. And, that this is so, your Lordships cannot but know.' History of his Troubles, &c. 227. See also Preface to Chillingworth's Works, pp. 4, 5.

[87] An admirable review of this important subject is given in the 9th chapter of Le Bas's Life of Laud.

ceremonies which had been consecrated in his estimation by the practice of Christian antiquity, in every other respect, both his conduct and his writings completely disprove the imputation, that he endeavoured to introduce Popery [88].'

The events which claim attention, before we close this chapter, must be very briefly noticed. They are the closing scenes of the tragedy. The Parliament, which had wrought such disastrous ruin unto others, was now fast working its own. The Presbyterian influence, which had become rampant in its ascendancy, began to wax feeble under the superior cunning and audacity of the Independent party. And, when that end was effected, and military violence had become the supreme law, the King himself fell. The steps which led to this shameful issue were few and rapid. First came the Self-denying Ordinance, which deprived the members of both Houses of their civil and military commands, and thereby threw the chief power into the hands of the Independents and of the army. Cromwell, although a member of the Lower House at the time, and consequently excluded by this ordinance from his office of lieutenant-general, contrived, nevertheless, through the address of Fairfax, to retain it. Under their joint command, the army was remodelled; and the entire defeat of the King's forces at Naseby, soon afterwards, showed with what skill and hardihood they wielded their authority. Then followed the unhappy determination of the King to seek for shelter

Sequel of the Civil War.

[88] Evelyn's Memoirs, iv. 349; Lingard, x. 286, *note*, third ed.

with the Scottish army, by which act he lost for ever his personal liberty; the discovery and publication of fresh evidences of his duplicity, (supplied in his correspondence with the Queen, and in the terms of the treaty of the Earl of Glamorgan with the Irish Roman Catholics,) which inflamed more and more the long cherished hatred of his enemies against him; his controversy with Henderson, at Newcastle, on the subject of Church government[89]; and, last of all, that compact, by which the Scots consented to deliver up his person to the English Parliament; a compact, which, coupled as it was with their receipt, about the same time, of £400,000, in lieu of all arrears claimed to be due to them from the English, it seems impossible to clear from the charge of infamy which adheres to it[90].

The King seized.

The Scottish Parliament might vote, as it did immediately afterwards, for the granting of personal liberty to the King, whilst their General Assembly declared, that, as he had refused to take the Covenant, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes; the English Parliament might hesitate to take any step which should either abridge his liberty, or bring him to an untimely end; but the power of the army was supreme, and, with fearful rapidity, bore down all other interests. By the bold counsel of Cromwell, and the activity of Cornet Joyce with his five hundred troopers, the King was seized, June 3, 1647, at Holmby, in North-

[89] Collier, viii. 307—325.

[90] For the different versions which may be given of this transaction, compare the last four pages of Hume's 58th chapter with Hallam's Constit. Hist. ii. 266—269.

amptonshire, where he had been placed under the care of the Parliamentary Commissioners, and brought to the head-quarters of the army near Cambridge. This blow was followed by the march of the army towards London, where the Parliament, after a brief and feeble resistance, submitted to its absolute controul. Eleven of the obnoxious members of the Lower House were expelled; others fled beyond the sea; and the Lord Mayor and chief civic officers of London (who had favoured their interest,) were imprisoned. The Parliament, in fact, was reduced to utter slavery; and the army, which had been called into existence by its voice, was now its tyrant.

Of the proposals next made to the Royal prisoner, at Hampton Court, it is needless to say more, in this place, than that they were rejected; that he fled thence to the Isle of Wight; and there, after being again compelled to reject the passing of four bills proposed to him by Parliament,—for it was impossible to comply with their terms—he received the alarming intelligence that no more addresses were to be made to him, and no more messages received from him. These votes, and the still closer imprisonment enforced against the King at Carisbrook, were signs of the impending sentence. Its completion, indeed, was, for a brief season, deferred, by the renewal of hostilities on the part of Scotland; by insurrections, in various parts of England, in the King's favour; by the temporary return of Presbyterian influence; and the consequent reversal of several of those proceedings in Parliament which had marked the triumph of the Independents. Hence followed the treaty of Newport, (Sept. 18, 1648,) which insisted upon conces-

sions from the King, whereby, had he granted them all, he would have been proved, as he himself said, more an enemy to his people, than by any other action of his life[91]. Those which he did make were deemed by a considerable majority of the Lower House a sufficient ground upon which they might proceed for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. But the military successes of Cromwell brought back fresh courage to the Independents. They forcibly purged the house of all the Presbyterian members[92]; and, with the remnant of their own partisans, amounting to not more than fifty or sixty, arrogated from henceforth, the right of exercising, without any limit or controul, all the authority of government.

And executed.

The liberties of the whole nation being thus laid prostrate, the destruction of him who still retained the title of King became no longer difficult. They who were designing it strove to shelter themselves, as long as they could, under such authority as the degraded Parliament could give to them. Upon the report of a committee of the Lower House, it was resolved, that a King who levied war against his Parliament was guilty of treason; and that Charles should be tried upon this charge by a High Court of Justice, expressly appointed for that purpose. The House of Peers, or, to speak more correctly, the few who still gave a mock attendance there,

[91] Hume, c. lix. vii. 127.

[92] This occurred Dec. 6, 1648: and only two days before the delivery of Prynne's noble speech in defence of the King. The speech is given at length in Cobbett's Parliamentary History, iii. 1152; and is the only redeeming act to be found in the proceedings of Parliament in that crisis.

unanimously rejected this resolution. Whereupon, the Commons, casting away the profession of all regard for any other power than their own, declared that whatsoever they chose to enact, was lawful; and issued the ordinance for the public trial of the King. The majestic dignity with which Charles refused to acknowledge the authority of his self-appointed Judges; and the abortive efforts to save him from this outrage by many who had been his chief opponents[93]; the patience with which he endured all insults; and the devout composure with which, yielding to the unrighteous sentence passed upon him, he at length met death upon the scaffold;—these need not to be related; for they are held in memory by all men. They filled the hearts of the people that witnessed them with deepest shame, and grief, and pity; and the recollection of them renews the same feelings in our own.

The voice of the tyrant speedily proclaimed, in the ears of the bewildered nation, the end for which these deeds of violence had been done; and the formal abolition of the House of Peers, and of the Monarchy, proclaimed his usurpation complete. This was the sad issue of the struggle. Yet, men could cheat themselves with words, in that miserable extremity. And, when the iron heel of despotism had trodden down, amid the ruins of the Throne, their dearest birthrights; and the Church was, as Laud, in his dying hour, had described it, 'like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft profaneness and irreligion entering

[93] Witness the remonstrance of the Presbyterian ministers whose names, &c. are given by Collier, viii. 356—358.

in[94];' they could be led away by the wild ardour of the fanatic, or the assumed sanctity of the hypocrite, and offer, with complacent looks, their praises unto God, for the blessings of restored freedom!

[94] See his Speech upon the scaffold, appended to his Summarie of Devotions, ut sup. p. 230.

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND, IN THE EARLIER PART OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625—1639.

It is impossible to contemplate with hopeful feelings the Colonies of England, or the position of her Church in any of them, at a time when such humiliating and disastrous scenes, as those described in the end of the preceding chapter, were enacted. Like conflicts, followed by the like overthrow of sacred authority, must be looked for, in every region to which the British rule extended, in that unhappy day. In each of them, too, specific elements of disturbance were at work, varying according to the various character of the country and its inhabitants, and thereby aggravating those miseries which the divisions of the mother country generated in her infant settlements abroad.

VIRGINIA.

Let us trace the operation of these in the first Colony which England had planted in the American Continent, Virginia. The reader will bear in mind, that the Virginia Company had already been dissolved, and a Commission issued, under the Great Seal, appointing Wyat to continue in the government, and Yeardley, and West, and

others, whose names were associated with its earliest history, in the Council of that Colony[1].

Proclamation of Charles I., May 13, 1625.

A Proclamation issued by Charles I., a few months after his accession, declared that the above arrangement was only provisional; and that the entire property and government of Virginia were vested in the Crown. After enumerating the ends for which the Colony had been planted by his father, namely, 'the Propagation of Christian Religion, the Increase of Trade, and the inlarging of his Royall Empire;' and reciting the failure of those ends through the alleged misconduct of the Virginia Company; its consequent abolition; and the reduction of all its rights and privileges under the sole authority of the Crown; it announces the 'full resolution' of Charles to establish 'one uniform course of government in and through' his 'whole monarchie;' and to make the government of Virginia depend immediately upon himself, 'and not be commytted to anie Company, or Corporation, to whome itt maie be proper to trust Matters of Trade and Commerce, but cannot be fitt or safe to communicate the ordering of State Affaires be they of never soe meane Consequence.' It further declares the royal intention to appoint a Council in England, for the immediate supervision of the affairs of the Colony, whose proceedings should be subject to the Privy Council; and another Council for the same purpose to be resident in Virginia, and subordinate to the Council at home; and to maintain, at the cost of the Crown, the public offices and fortifications necessary for the controul and defence of the Colony[2].

[1] See p. 289, *ante*.

[2] Hazard, i. 203.

The high character of Wyat, to whom the government of Virginia was thus delegated, and the wise and faithful tenor of those Articles of Instruction by which, I have said, his course in former years was controuled[3], might have excited a good hope, that, nothwithstanding the past and present trials of the Colony, happiness was yet in store for her. But, if such hope for a moment cheered the hearts of any, it was speedily dissipated. Before the end of James's reign, Wyat's father died in Ireland; and the earliest Commission, addressed by Charles to the Virginia Council, reciting that fact, empowers the son to resign his government into the hands of Yeardley, and return home[4]. Wyat soon did so; and Yeardley,—who had succeeded Dale, in 1616, as deputy governor, and, again, upon the recal of Argall, in 1619, had been appointed chief Governor,—was for the third time entrusted with the management of the Colony. He died soon afterwards, in November, 1627[5].

The rapid succession of Governors.

Thus, in little more than two years from the time in which Virginia had become the exclusive property of the British Crown, she was twice exposed to the evil of a change of Governors; an evil, at all times great, but fraught with especial mischief to a Colony beset with difficulties such as hers. She could ill spare, at such a moment, the head that could devise, or the hand that could execute, measures needful for her welfare. Nor was the loss of such faithful friends as Wyat and Yeardley[6] had proved themselves to be, her only

[3] See pp. 267, 268, *ante*. [4] Hazard, i. 230—234.

[5] Hening's Statutes of Virginia, i. 4.

[6] Robertson describes Yeardley as a man of despotic character, and therefore a fit instrument to enforce that system of arbitrary

misery. A positive curse was inflicted upon her by another commission, issued before the death of Yeardley, appointing Sir John Harvey to the office of Governor, whensoever it might become vacant, and William Clayborne to that of Secretary [7].

Harvey was not in Virginia, at the time of Yeardley's death; and, until his arrival, Francis West, brother of the good Lord De la Warr, who had been a distinguished member of the Colony from its earliest settlement, was entrusted with the government. Upon his death, soon afterwards, another member of the Council was appointed deputy, whose career was quickly ended by his having been found guilty of stealing cattle [8]. A repetition, therefore, of the evils incident to a frequent succession of governors again took place; and Clayborne, who, amid all these changes, remained Secretary, had the better opportunity of effecting his sinister purposes. He soon obtained authority to explore Chesapeak Bay, or any other part of the Virginian territory from the 34th to the 41st degree of latitude; and, in 1631, this was followed by a Royal licence, empowering him to trade with those parts of America for which no exclusive

rule which Charles had committed to his hands. Works, xi. 229. There is no foundation, I believe, for this statement. All the authentic notices of Virginia, at this time, report favourably of Yeardley's character; and, so far from wishing to keep every thing under his own arbitrary controul, I have shown (p. 253, *ante*,) that, during his government, in 1619, he established and convened the House of Assembly.

[7] Hazard, i. 234—239. Clayborne had first gone out to Virginia with Wyat, in 1621, 'to survey the planters' lands, and make a map of the country.' Hening, i. 116. He was soon afterwards admitted to the Council. Hazard, i. 189.

[8] Hening, i. 145.

Patent had been yet granted[9]. The footing which he thereby gained in territories soon afterwards made over to Maryland, proved the source of many troubles, both to that Colony and to Virginia. And, on that account, I have here noticed the manner in which Clayborne acquired it.

Lord Baltimore's visit and departure, 1629.

Before Harvey arrived in Virginia, Lord Baltimore visited it, with the view of settling there. I have already spoken of his abortive efforts to plant a Colony in Newfoundland, and of his resignation of the office of Secretary of State under James, in consequence of having entered into communion with the Church of Rome[10]. Upon coming to Virginia, in March, 1628-9, he was required by the Council to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance; an act, not less demanded by the laws of the mother country than of the Colony; which the difficulties of the times continued to make imperative[11]; and from which there appeared no special ground upon which Baltimore could justly claim exemption. He

[9] Chalmers, 206, and 227, 228. [10] See pp. 325, 326, *ante*.

[11] Mr. Roebuck, in his work upon the Colonies of England (published since the first edition of this work appeared), has not described this transaction correctly. 'Virginia (he says, p. 41) hated Popery, and no sooner was Sir George Calvert known to be within her territories, than he was pestered and persecuted by demands to take anti-Catholic oaths, and thereby forced to leave this vineyard of the Saints,—the chosen seat of Protestant purity.' Mr. Roebuck might have spared this taunt, had he taken pains to consult the original authorities. The Colony had no choice in the matter; and Calvert, or, to speak more correctly, Lord Baltimore, must have known this. As to the oath itself, it may be remarked, in the words of Hallam, that, 'except by cavilling at one or two words, it seemed impossible for the Roman Catholics to decline so reasonable a test of loyalty, without justifying the worst suspicions of Protestant jealousy.' Constit. Hist. i. 556.

refused, nevertheless, to take the oath; and returned to England, that he might obtain, through another channel, the liberty of planting a Colony in America [12].

Harvey's oppressive rule.

Harvey arrived at the same time as Governor. He had upon a former occasion visited the Colony, as one of the Commissioners to examine into the charges brought against the Company; and the recollection of their unfair proceedings [13] was calculated to awaken evil forebodings among the people. The event confirmed their worst fears. Harvey ruled the province with a rod of iron. Those rigorous laws, which enforced under heavy penalties attendance upon Church ordinances, and which former Governors had wisely suffered to remain a dead letter, were now strictly enforced. The kind and considerate feeling, formerly manifested towards the Puritans, by some of the most faithful members of the Church who directed the counsels of the Virginia Company, was now utterly disowned. Their settlement in the province was no longer tolerated. Fresh laws were enacted for their exclusion; and, against all the inhabitants of the Colony, who were suspected of showing any sympathy or favour towards them, the same terrors were forthwith set in array, which, issuing from the Star Chamber and High Commission Court at home, filled so many

[12] During Lord Baltimore's residence in Virginia, his personal rights were duly respected, as appears from the following extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Governor and Council: 'March 25, 1630, Tho. Tindall to be pillory'd 2 hours for giving my Ld. Baltimore the lye, and threatening to knock him down.' Hening, i. 552.

[13] See p. 286, *ante*.

of the English people, at that time, with resentment and disgust.

Acts and Orders of the General Assembly respecting the Church.

Before I enter upon this part of the narrative, let me briefly review the Acts and Orders relative to the Church passed, during the same period, by the General Assembly of Virginia. Hening, to whose industrious and careful researches we are mainly indebted for any accurate information upon this subject, has observed, that the very first pages of the Virginia Statute Book, and the Acts of every Session prior to the American Revolution, are devoted to the cause of religion and Church government[14]. Those which were passed by the General Assembly, during the former reign, have been already recited, and amply bear out the truth of this remark.

In 1629, before the arrival of Harvey from England, I find the two following Acts passed; the former of which ordered:

Penalties for not going to Church.

That there bee an especiall care taken by all commanders and others that the people doe repaire to their churches on the Saboth day, and to see that the penalty of one pound of tobacco for every time of absence and 50 pound of tobacco for every month's absence sett down in the act of the Generall Assembly 1623, be levyed and the delinquents to pay the same, as also to see that the Saboth day be not ordinarily profaned by workeing in any imployments or by iourneying from place to place.

Observance of the Sabbath.

The latter declared it to be

Tithes.

Thought fitt that all those that worke in the ground, of what qualitie or condition soever, shall pay tithes to the ministers[15].

The first of these two Acts proves that no sympathy

[14] Preface to first edition, i. xiv.

[15] Hening, i. 144.

existed among the ruling members of the Church in Virginia, at this time, upon so important a matter as that of the observance of the Lord's Day, with her rulers at home; for they, as we have seen, were then wounding the consciences of those of her members who believed in the Divine authority of that day, by the republication of King James's Book of Sports.

The earliest Acts of the first General Assembly, after the arrival of Harvey in the Colony, 1631-2, are all likewise connected with the administration or support of the Church; and are here laid before the reader in their original form[16], as the best way of representing the matter and the spirit of legislation with reference to such subjects in that day.

Uniformity.

I. *It is ordered*, That theire bee a uniformitie throughout this colony both in substance and circumstance to the canons and constitution of the Church of England as neare as may bee, and that every person yeald readie obedience unto them uppon penaltie of the paynes and forfeitures in that case appoynted.

Penalty for absence.

II. That the statutes for comminge to church every Sonday and holydays bee duly executed. That is to say; that the church-wardens doe levy one shilling for every tyme of any person's absence from the church havinge no lawfull or reasonable excuse to bee absent. And for due execution hereof the Governor and Councell togeather with the burgisses

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[16] I have followed Hening's example in strictly preserving the orthography in which the laws were written; believing, with him, that 'in no other way can the history of a language be accurately traced; nor is there any circumstance which more clearly distinguishes a genuine from a spurious paper. Nothing (he adds) can be more improper, in transcribing from an original, than to vary the spelling of the words to suit the fluctuations of a living language; it would be just as proper for a painter, in copying the picture of an ancient Turk with his mustachoes, to give him the beardless face of a modern American Indian.' Preface to first edition, p. xi.

of this grand-assembly doe in Gods name earnestlie require and chardge all commanders, captaynes and church-wardens that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of theire knowledge that the due and true execution hereof may be done and had through this colony, as they will answere before God for such evills and plagues wherewith Almighty God may iustlie punish his people for neglectinge this good and wholesome laue.

Presentments and Registers.

III. That as many of the mynisters as convenientlie may, and one of the church-wardens at least, of every parish be present yearlie at midsomer quarter cort holden on the first day of June; and theire to make theire presentments uppon oath, togeather with a register of all burialls, christenings, and marriages, as likewise their accounts of all levyes, collections and disbursements as have beene or fallen out in their tymes concerninge the church affayres. And further that they choose church-wardens at the feast of Easter yearlie.

Oath of Church-wardens.

IV. *And it is further ordered and thought expedient*, according to a former order made, by the governor and councell that all church-wardens shall take this oath and that it bee admynistered before those that are of the commission for mounthlie corts, viz. "You shall sweare that "you shall make presentments of all such persons as shall lead a "prophayne or ungodlie life, of such as shall be common swearers, "drunkards or blasphemers, that shall ordinarilie profane the saboth "dayes, or contemne Gods holy word or sacraments. You shall "also present all adulterers or fornicators, or such as shall abuse "theire neighbors by slanderinge tale carryinge or back bitinge, or "that shall not behave themselves orderlie and soberlie in the "church during devyne servise. Likewise they shall present such "maysters and mistrisses as shall be delinquent in the catechising "the youth and ignorant persons. So helpe yow God!"

Penalty for disparaging a minister.

V. Noe man shall disparage a mynister whereby the myndes of his parishioners may be alienated from him and his mynistrie prove less effectuall upon payne of severe censure of the governor and councell.

Rites of matrimony.

VI. No mynister shall celebrate matrimony betweene any persons without a facultie or lycense graunted by the Governor, except the banes of matrimony have beene first published three severall Sundays or holydays in the time of devyne service in the parish churches where the sayd persons dwell according to the booke of common prayer,

neither shall any mynister under any pretense whatsoever ioyne any persons so licenced in marriage at any unseasonable tymes but only betweene the howers of eight and twelve in the forenoone, nor when banes are thrice asked, and no lycence in that respect necessarie, before the parents or guardians of the parties to be married beinge under the age of twenty and one yeares, shall either personally or by sufficient testimony signifie unto him theire consents given to the said marriage.

Duties of ministers.

VII. Every mynister in this colony havinge cure of soules shall preach one sermon every sunday in the yeare, having no lawful impediment, and yf the mynisters shall neglect their charge by unnecessarie absence or otherwise the church-wardens are to present it. But because in this colony the places of their cure are in many places ffar distant, *It is thought fitt* that the mynisters doe soe divide theire turnes as by joynt agreement of the parishioners they should be desired.

VIII. That upon every Sunday the mynister shall half an houre or more before evenenge prayer examine, catechise, and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parrish, in the ten commandments the articles of the beliefe and in the Lord's prayer; and shall diligentlie heere, instruct and teach them the catechisme, sett forth in the booke of common prayer. And all fathers, mothers, maysters and mistrisses shall cause their children, servants or apprentizes which have not learned the catechisme to come to the church at the tyme appointed, obedientlie to heare, and to be ordered by the mynister untill they have learned the same: And yf any of the sayd ffathers, mothers, maysters and mistrisses, children, servants or apprentises, shall neglect theire duties as the one sorte in not causing them to come and the other in refusinge to learne as aforesayd, they shall be censured by the corts in those places holden. And this act to take begininge at Easter next.

IX. When any person is dangerouslie sicke in any parrish, the mynister haveinge knowledge thereof shall resort unto him or her to instruct and comfort them in their distresse.

X. In every parrish church within this Colony shall be kept by the mynister a booke wherein shall be written the day and yeare of every christeninge, weddinge, and buriall.

XI. Mynisters shall not give themselves to excesse in drinkinge or riott, spendinge theire tyme idellye by day or night, playinge at dice, cards, or any other unlaufull game; but at all tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scrip-

tures, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doinge the thinges which shall apperteyne to honesty, and endeavour to profitt the church of God, alwayes haveinge in mynd that they ought to excell all others in puritie of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianlie.

XII. In every parish church where sacraments are to be admynistered within this colony, the holi communion shall be admynistered by the mynister thrice in the yeare, whereof the feast of Easter to be one.

XIII. And all preachinge, admynistringe of the communion, and marriages shall be done in the church except in cases of necessitie.

Further allowance to ministers.

XIV. The governour and counsell togeather with the burgisses in this present grand assembly, uppon the petition of the mynisters within this colony, have taken into theire consideration by what way theire might be a sufficient meanes allowed unto the said mynisters for theire better subsistance and encouragement in their mynistrie; and thereuppon have ordeyned and enacted that there shall be payd unto the sayd mynisters the former allowance of 10lb of tobaccoe and a bushell of corne, in such manner as formerlie hath beene done; and because of the lowe rates of tobacco at this present *It is further graunted and ordered*, that theire shal be likewise due to the mynisters from the first day of March next ensuing the 20th calfe, the 20th kidd of goates, and the 20th pigge, throughout all plantations within this colony; and that theire may arise no difficultie nor controversie in the payment of this new allowance of meanes, *It is thought fitt and ordered*, That where any parishioners shall not have the complete nomber of 20 calves, kidds or piggs, then the nomber which hath fallen att the feast of Easter shal be praysed and rated betweene the mynisters and one or more of his parishioners, and the 20th part thereof allowed to the mynister proportionably; but yf it fall out the number of calves, kidds or piggs arise to twenty then the owner is to choose five out of the sayd nomber and the mynister to make his choyse in the sixt place, and *it is thought fitt* that the owners keep the sayd calves, kidds or piggs until the time they bee weanable, that is to say, for calves the owner to keepe them 7 weekes, and kidds likewise 7 weeks and piggs a month. And the parishioners are to give notice to the mynisters when they shall fetch theire calves, kidds or piggs that be due unto them. And this act to continue

in force, untill the next meetinge of the grand assembly, at which tyme theire may fall out just cause of alteration either by the advancement of tobacco or some other meanes, for that formerlie the ancient allowance of 10lb of tobacco and a bushell of corne hath beene a sufficient proportion for theire maynteynance in theire callinge.

It is likewise ordered, That the mynister shall have these petty duties as followeth, viz.:

Imprimis.	For Marriage	2	0
	for Christeninge	0	0
	for Churchinge	1	0
	for Buryinge	1	0

It is ordered, That uppon the 25th day of October if it be not Sunday, and then the day followinge, the church-wardens shall give notice to the parishioners, that they bringe in the dutie of 10lb of tobacco for the mynisters unto a place to be appoynted within that plantation by the sayd church-wardens, and that the mynister bee warned to be there or appoynt some other to receive the same. *And it is likewise ordered*, That the dutie of a bushell of corne be brought in uppon the 19th day of December to the place appoynted within that plantation by the mynister. And no planter or parishioner may neglect the bringinge of the tobacco, or come uppon the penalty that yf any make default they shall forfeit double the quantitie of the tobacco and corne to be levied by distresse by authoritie from the commander; and likewise, by distresse, all arrearages of tobaccoe and corn due to the mynisters shall or may be recovered by virtue of this order of the assembly. And yf the church-wardens shall fayle in the execution of theire office hereby inioyned then the commander shall take order that it be levied by distresse out of the church-wardens goods and chattells.

Churches to be built and repaired.

XV. *It is ordeyned and enacted* that in all such places where any churches are wantinge, or decayed, the inhabitants shall be tyed to contribute towards the buildinge of a church, or repayringe any decayed church, the commissioners, togeather with the mynisters, church-wardens and chiefe of the parish to appoynt both the most convenient place for all parts to assemble togeather, and also to hire and procure any workeman, and order such necessaries as are requisite to be done in such workes. This they are to effect before the feast

of the nativitie of our Saviour Christ, or else the sayd commissioners, yf they be deficient in theire duties, to forfeit £50 in money, to be imployed as the whole bodie of the Assembly shall dispose.

And it is ordered in like manner, That theire be a certayne portion of ground appoynted out, and impaled or fenced in (upon the penalty of twenty Marques) to be for the buriall of the dead.

Attendance of the Council at Divine Service.

XVIII. *It is ordered*, that all the counsell and burgisses of the assembly shall, in the morninge, be present at devine service, in the roome where they sitt, at the third beatinge of the drum, an hower after sun rise, uppon the penaltie of one shillinge to the benefitt of the marshall at James Citty; and yf any shall absent himselfe from the assembly, to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* to the same use; and yf any shall after neglect, to be fined by the whole bodie of the assembly. And this act to continue in force untill the assembly shall see cause to revoke it [17].

An Act was also passed during the same session, reappointing the 22nd of March to be observed annually as a solemn holiday, in commemoration of deliverance from the bloody massacre by Opechancanough in 1621-2 [18].

Another was passed the next year, constituting the office of Deacon. The words are,

Appointment of Deacons.

In such places where the extent of the cure of any mynister is so large that he cannot be present himselfe on the Saboth dayes and other holy days, *It is thought fitt*, That they appoynt and allow mayntenance for deacons where any havinge taken orders can be found for the readinge common prayer in their absence.

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[17] Hening, i. 155—162. In the list of the General Assembly which passed the above Acts, the name of William Clayborne occurs, for the first time, with the prefix of Captain.

[18] Ib. 177. The observance had been originally appointed, March, 1623-4. Ib. 123. For an account of the massacre, see pp. 273—276, *ante*.

Constitution of Parishes.

In 1639-40, two new Parishes were formed, Chiskiack, and Lawn's Creek. The boundaries of the latter were altered in 1642-3, in consequence of the inability of the inhabitants to maintain a minister of their own, and to contribute (as they had been required to do) to the minister of James City, whence they received no spiritual benefit. Other Parishes were, from time to time, formed, as it is said,

'For the better enabling of the inhabitants of this colony to the religious worship and service of Almighty God, which is often neglected and slackened by the inconvenience and remote vastness of parishes[19].'

Their names and boundaries, and other particulars connected with them, are given in the proceedings of the Grand Assembly; and hardly any session passed in which there was not the constitution of a new Parish, or the alteration of an old one.

Evils of such legislation to the Church.

It is obvious, however, that the enactment of such laws was but a part, and that not the most important, for securing to the inhabitants of the province the blessings of Christianity. They were instruments to make the Church of England the established Church of her first Colony in America; but nothing more. And, if the ministrations of that Gospel of which the Church is 'both a witness and a keeper[20],' were not found, at the same time, operating, in all their fulness and integrity, within her borders; if men, devoted, holy, and self-denying, were not seen labouring in the several fields of ministerial duty which the votes of the Assembly marked out for them; if the spiritual

[19] Hening, 208. 228. 278. 250.

[20] Article XX.

rulers, from whose hands they received their authority to teach, were not at hand to guide, to encourage, to warn, or, if need were, to reprove the ministers; it is plain that the framework of an establishment would be set up only to provoke the indignant clamour of the disaffected, whilst they who desired to be nourished and refreshed by its blessed ordinances would be left destitute and discouraged. It was not the enactment of pains and penalties that could evangelize any portion of the earth. It was not the calling over the congregation of worshippers by a muster-roll, to be summoned by beat of drum, and to be kept together by fines, that could make a plantation fragrant "as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed" (Gen. xxvii. 27). The allowance of tobacco and of corn, and the tithe of calves, and kids, and pigs, could be regarded only as so many tokens of injustice and oppression, if, whilst they were set forth and exacted with such nice precision, the same care were not exercised to ensure the faithful and constant discharge of duties, in consideration of which alone those offerings were demanded.

Absence of all spiritual controul.

Upon looking then to the steps, taken by the government to ensure the performance of such duties, it will be found that the only controul brought to bear upon ordained ministers in the Colony was that of the secular power. The following Act, for instance, March 1642-3, having provided that all former orders and constitutions concerning Church government should remain in full force, enjoins,

Visitation of ministers.

That there be a yearly meeting of the ministers and churchwardens before the commander and com'rs of every county court in nature of a visitation ac-

cording to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England which is there usually held every yeare after Christmas.

It provides also for the appointment and removal of ministers in the following terms:

Their appointment and removal.

That the vestrie of evrie parish with the allowance of the commander and com'rs of the county living and resideing within the said parish, or the vestrie alone in case of their non residence, shall from henceforward have power to elect and make choyce of their ministers, And he or they so elected by the commander and com'rs, or by the vestrie, in case of non residence as aforesaid, to be recommended and presented to the said commander and com'rs, or vestrie alone, to the Governor and so by him admitted, Provided that it shall be lawfull for the Govr for the time being to admit and elect such a minister as he shall allow of in James-Citty parish. And in any parish where the Governour and his successors shall have a plantation, provided he or they enjoy not that privilege but in one parish where he or they have such a plantation, And vpon the neglect or misbecomeing behaviour of the ministers or any of them, compl't thereof being made by the vestrie, The Governour and Council are requested so to proceed against such minister or ministers by suspension or other punishment as they shall think fitt and the offence require. Removeall of such ministers to be left to the Grand Assembly [21].

Hardships then imposed upon the Clergy

Such enactments might not unreasonably have been looked for under the circumstances in which the Parishes of Virginia were constituted. But, it is obvious, that they contained the elements of much evil. Indeed, no process could have been devised more likely to involve the Church in difficulty, or to cast reproach upon the doctrines of which she was the depository, than to entrust the election of the ministers of such Parishes to the will of each Vestry. The single exception made in favour of the chief Parish of James City, where the appointment of the minister was vested

[21] Hening, i. 240.

in the Governor for the time being, was only calculated to aggravate the evil. And, if these were the serious errors, committed at the outset of our Colonial legislation, with respect to the appointment of ministers; what shall be said of those contained in the enactments for the removal of negligent, unworthy, ministers? It was only requisite that a complaint be made against any minister by a Vestry, and the Governor and Council were forthwith empowered to proceed against him, by suspension, or such other punishment as they might think fit; and the Grand Assembly had the power of removing him altogether. For the regulation of many matters relating to the Clergy, such controul was, no doubt, valid and sufficient; and the exercise of it, in all others which concerned them only as citizens, would have been unobjectionable. But its injustice, when regarded as the only method of directing the Clergy in every department of their duties, was extreme. For the Vestry might complain of doctrines which were Scriptural, or of practices which were Apostolic; the Governor and Council, as ignorant it might be as the Vestry, would pass sentence of suspension; and the Grand Assembly, superior only in power, not in knowledge, to either the Council or the Vestry, would, by their final sentence, ratify all that had been done. At no stage of the process was any security given to the minister, that the merits of the complaint lodged against him should be determined before a competent tribunal. He was liable, for alleged spiritual offences, to be tried by Judges purely secular. Thus, truth was exposed at every turn to outrage, and the means of vindicating it were withheld. A minister of the Church in Virginia was hereby placed in a position,

not only essentially inferior to that retained by his brethren in England, but inferior even to that which any Non-conforming minister would have claimed as his own undoubted right. For, whatsoever may have been the severity practised against Non-conformists by the rulers with whose ordinances they refused to conform, in that day and country, they had at least the consolation of knowing, that, in matters between themselves and others whose opinions coincided with their own, any complaint, preferred against them for erroneous teaching or practice in respect of such opinions, would be examined and decided upon only by such persons as were recognised by themselves competent to discharge that office. To the Clergy of Virginia, this right was denied. They looked in vain for the presence of any one who, bearing the same commission and joined in office with themselves, had authority to direct them in the discharge of their high trust. The Bishop, from whom they received authority to 'preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in the congregation,' whereunto they should 'be lawfully appointed[22],' was not at hand to defend them from wrong, or lead them on to right. Nor was any ecclesiastical officer, delegated by the Bishop to exercise authority in his name, found in the province, throughout the whole of this reign. The sole power, which governed the Clergy, was that of the Grand Assembly, the agents whom they appointed, and the Vestries of their respective Parishes. The gross injustice of such an arrangement, and the grievous ills consequent upon it, will be seen hereafter.

[22] See the Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests in the Prayer Book.

Laud chargeable with many of these evils.

The question here forces itself upon our attention, To whom is this state of things to be ascribed? The Proclamation of Charles at his accession had declared the government of Virginia to be dependent immediately upon himself; and, during the greater part of the seventeen years which had elapsed, between the date of that Proclamation and the time at which the proceedings of the Grand Assembly last mentioned took place, the counsels of the King's government, at home and abroad, were not only directed by Laud, but directed at his will and pleasure without the intervention of Parliament. It is impossible, therefore, not to admit that the blame of exposing the Church in Virginia to evils such as these, rests mainly, if not entirely, upon that Prelate. He could entertain, as we have seen, the project of sending out a Bishop to New England to keep down the Puritans who flocked thither, and of backing 'him with forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade obedience'[23]; but to supply the Churchmen of Virginia with that help to which their zeal, and love, and patience so eminently entitled them, and the want of which was nothing less than to defraud both ministers and people in that land of their spiritual birthright, seems not once to have entered into his thoughts.

The only plea for such neglect is the disturbed state of affairs at home, which prevented our rulers from attending to the condition of the Church in Virginia. But, even this plea is removed, upon finding a Commission issued by the King, in 1632, to the Earl of Dorset and others, appointing them a Council

[23] See pp. 401—403, *ante*.

of superintendence of Virginia, to ascertain the state of its laws, commerce, and government, and to report thereon to him [24]. No traces can be discovered of any attempt made by these Commissioners to remedy the evils in question.

Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore, 1632.

But these were not the only evils. Another measure followed, most dangerous and discouraging to our Church throughout the whole of the American Colonies. And this was the manner in which the new province of Maryland was constituted. In New England, the only design with which the mission of a Bishop to her shores had been ever contemplated, was one which, had it been realised, would have cast the heaviest reproach upon his office, and awakened fierce resistance against any exercise of its power. In Virginia, where the services of the Episcopal office were required, and would have been gratefully received, its institution was never thought of. But, now, Charles and his counsellors erected a third Colony, in which they deprived themselves of the power of treating either the Puritan with rigour, or the Churchman with indifference, by consigning the property and government of the whole of the newly defined territory, with the amplest powers and prerogatives, into the hands of a Roman Catholic, Lord Baltimore.

[24] Burk's History of Virginia, ii. 35. It is remarkable, that, in this Commission, occur the names of Nicholas and John Ferrar; a circumstance which shows the great interest still felt by that family in the affairs of Virginia. Another instance to the same effect will be found hereafter, when we review the first settlement of Carolina. The name also of Capt. W. Farrar appears as representative of Henrico, as late as the year 1667. Burk, ii. 140.

We have already alluded to the high character and enterprising spirit of this nobleman; and his failure to gain a settlement in Virginia, by refusing to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance. Connecting these facts with the favour which, in spite of stringent laws and solemn promises, Charles was accused of manifesting towards Roman Catholics, we cannot fail to see, in the successful suit now addressed to him by Baltimore, a remarkable instance of the unjust policy which provoked such complaints [25]. An English nobleman sets foot upon a Colony in which his countrymen are already settled; surveys the vastness and fertility of its territory; desires to obtain a portion of it for himself; finds that he is prohibited alike by the laws of the province and of his native country, from obtaining his object, unless he take a certain oath; and, refusing to take it [26], returns home and secures, through his influence with the Court and personal friendship with the King, property and privileges, within the borders of the desired land, far greater than any ever yet conferred upon any British subject.

Terms of its Charter.

Their variety and magnitude will be best seen by reference to the terms of the Charter itself, which was finally granted June 20, 1632, not to the first Lord Baltimore, who applied

[25] See pp. 385—387, *ante*.

[26] Grahame, in his History of the United States, ii. 4, quotes, in an extract from Leland's History of Ireland, a Bull of Pope Urban VIII., in which the Irish Roman Catholics were charged 'rather to lose their lives than take that wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby the sceptre of the Catholic Church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God Almighty.' He justly thinks that Baltimore, an Irish Peer, was thereby restrained from taking the oath.

for it;—for he had died early in that year;—but to his son and heir, Cæcilius Calvert. It sets out with stating that he, Cæcilius, walking in his father's steps, was kindled 'with the laudable and pious desire of extending alike the Christian religion and the territories of the King's Empire;'—a statement, which it is impossible to reconcile with the only sense in which it could properly be understood by the King and nation at that time; since the father had resigned his office of Secretary of State, a few years before, on the alleged ground that the communion with the Church of Rome, into which he had entered, no longer permitted him to discharge its duties. The Charter then describes accurately the geographical boundaries of the proposed Colony, to be called MARYLAND[27]; and grants the whole of the extensive territory comprised within them, together with all islands ten leagues distant from it eastward, and the harbours, rivers, and straits belonging to them, to Cæcilius, Lord Baltimore, his heirs, and assigns, to hold of the King and his successors, upon condition of 'yielding two Indian arrows of those parts to be delivered at the Castle of Windsor, every year on Tuesday in Easter week,' and also the fifth part of all gold and silver ore, which should happen, from time to time, to be found within the province. With respect to the

[27] In honour of the Queen of Charles I. Although her name was Henrietta Maria, she is often designated by the writers of that day only by that of Mary. Thus Laud writes in his Diary (p. 6), 'An. 1625, June 12, Queene Mary crossing the seas, landed upon our shores about seven a clock in the evening.' Similar instances are to be found in Fuller's Church History. The Biographie Universelle (Art. Calvert) states erroneously that the name of Maryland was given in honour of Mary, daughter of Charles I.

privileges to be enjoyed by Baltimore, the Charter provides that he should have

'The Patronages and Advowsons of all Churches which (with the increasing worship and religion of Christ) within the said region, islands, and limits aforesaid, hereafter shall happen to be built, together with licence and faculty of erecting and founding Churches, Chapels, and places of worship, in convenient and suitable places within the premisses, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated *according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England*, with all and singular such, and as ample rights, liberties, immunities, and royal rights, and temporal franchises whatsoever, as well by sea as by land within the region, islands, and limits aforesaid, to be had, exercised, used, and enjoyed, as any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick or County Palatine of Durham, in our Kingdom of England, ever heretofore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy.'

Full and absolute power was also given to Baltimore, to ordain laws, and to appoint Judges and officers of every kind, 'so nevertheless that the laws aforesaid be consonant to reason, and be not repugnant or contrary, but (so far as conveniently may be) agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, customs and rights of this our Kingdom of England.' Licence was granted to all English subjects to transport themselves to the new Colony, who wished to do so; and to the Proprietary, not only was the privilege secured of imposing subsidies upon their inhabitants with their consent; but the King further covenanted that neither he nor his successors should levy any taxes upon the Colonists, or upon any goods belonging to them within the Province. And, in conclusion, the Charter provided, that, if doubt should arise as to the true meaning of any word, or clause, or sentence contained therein, that interpretation should hold good which should be judged most favourable to Bal-

timore and his heirs;—subject only to one condition, namely, that it should not be such as might prejudice the true Christian Religion or allegiance to the Crown [28].

Greater privileges than these could not have been granted by any monarch to any subject. With respect to those of a secular character, I make no other remark than that they transferred to English Colonists a power which the King of England himself did not possess; and could not therefore be lawfully delegated by him to any other. The matters ecclesiastical, provided for in the same Charter, call for further observation. They are characterised by a disingenuousness, which reflects not less reproach upon the King and his counsellors who granted, than upon the nobleman who received, such ample prerogatives. The clauses which enumerate them contain not a word, from first to last, to indicate that the favoured Proprietor of Maryland was not a faithful member of the Church of England. The extension and support of the Christian Religion, insisted upon so strongly therein, could naturally be understood as referring to no other exhibition of Christianity than that which the Church of England professed and taught in all her formularies, and which was presented freely to all her people in her Authorised Version of the Bible. In confirmation of this belief, and with the expressed purpose of acting openly in accordance with it, the Proprietor of Maryland was to be invested with the Patronages and Advowsons of all Churches which might 'hereafter happen to be built' in any quarter of it; was to have

Reflections thereon.

[28] Bacon's Laws of Maryland; Hazard, i. 327–336.

the 'licence or faculty of erecting and founding Churches, Chapels, and places of worship, in convenient and suitable places;' and to cause 'the same to be dedicated and consecrated *according to the ecclesiastical laws of the Kingdom of England*.' He was further to be invested 'with all and singular such, and as ample rights, liberties, immunities, and royal rights, and temporal franchises whatsoever, as well by sea as by land,' throughout the entire province, 'to be had, exercised, used, and enjoyed, as any Bishop of Durham, in the Kingdom of England, ever heretofore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy[29].' Is it not clear that every one of these privileges was based upon the assumption that Baltimore was a faithful member of the Church of England? Yet he had openly forsaken her, and entered into communion with that of Rome, whose fierce, presumptuous anathema so lately denounced against English rulers had never been withdrawn. He had been led to this act by no blind impulse. In the fulness of matured manhood and enlarged experience, he had resigned the dignities and emoluments of office; had retired from his native country; had sought a settlement in Virginia; and, in that province, had been so zealous, to preserve intact the spiritual authority to which he was newly rendered subject, as to refuse to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance to his King[30]. This

[29] Bancroft, in his description of this Charter, i. 243, says that 'Christianity was made by it the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect; and equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, was assured:'—a description directly at variance with the above clauses.

[30] A remarkable passage occurs in a letter of Baltimore to his

was the man to whom Charles, in the plenitude of his power, forgetful of all the laws which Parliament had thought fit to pass against Popish Recusants, and of his own solemn and repeated promises to observe them, granted with loftiest powers so large and fair a portion of the Virginian territory. It cannot be said that the favour shown to Baltimore was merely the token of a kindly spirit seeking to mitigate the severity of penal laws; for never were those laws, whenever they bore upon those who were not Roman Catholics, executed with more shameful rigour than at the time of giving this Charter. Neither is it any justification of this act to say that Baltimore was a man of unblemished reputation, upright, humane, and

friend Strafford, Aug. 12, 1630, after his return to England from Virginia, in which he tries to show, inconclusively, as I think, the proofs of affection entertained by Roman Catholics for the family of the English King. He describes the demonstration of joy in the Court of Spain at hearing that Queen Henrietta Maria had given birth to the Prince of Wales, and says: 'The King, Queen, and all the Court in bravery, not so much as the young infant of so many months old but had his feather in his cap: all the Town full of masks and musick. And not only the Temporal State but the Spiritual express their gladness: The Heads of the Clergy and all the Religious Houses in the City came to the Ambassador in the name of their Bodies to congratulate with him the birth of the Prince, and solemn Masses and Prayers were said for his health and prosperity every where. Thus your Lordship sees that we Papists want not charity towards you Protestants, whatsoever the less understanding part of the world think of us.' Strafford's Letters, &c. i. 53. Whatsoever may have been the sincerity of the writer who lays stress upon such testimony, he puts altogether out of sight the fact that Queen Henrietta was of the same communion with those who exhibited all this joy; and that therefore it might be regarded not so much as a token of the charity of Papists towards Protestants, as of exultation in the prospect that a Papist Prince might once more be seated upon the throne of England.

just. I admit this most unreservedly; nay more, I admit that his successors inherited his virtues as well as his name; and that the wisdom and benevolence of the first Popish Lords of Maryland will be found to put to shame and rebuke the words and acts of many who then clamoured the most loudly against Popery. Still, this their equitable government could not have been foreseen; or, if any had calculated upon it as probable, a lawful end was only to be obtained by lawful means. Nothing can excuse the gross injustice of issuing a Charter, the provisions of which could neither be, nor were ever intended to be, executed according to their plain and obvious meaning.

It is remarkable that every writer of American History, save one, as far as I can ascertain, should have passed over in silence this disgraceful characteristic of the Maryland Charter. They have neither regarded the contradiction which it gave to the laws existing at that time in England; nor the difficulties which it was too sure to cast in the way of our own Church, when she came to extend her ministrations to the same province. Even Dr. Hawks, although he cites[31] the passage which I have quoted respecting the licence of erecting and founding Churches according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, makes no comment upon the obvious inconsistency of en-

[31] Hawks's Ecclesiastical Contributions, &c. (Maryland), ii. 22. It can hardly be a matter of surprise that Mr. Roebuck, in his work upon the Colonies of England, should have committed the same oversight; for Bancroft has been his only guide, in that part of his work which notices the colonization of Maryland; and Bancroft, like other writers, has failed to remark the manner in which the terms of the Maryland Charter compromised the character of the King who granted, and of the nobleman who accepted it.

trusting such a privilege to the hands of a Roman Catholic Proprietor. The exception to which I refer is that of Mr. Murray, an able writer in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, who expressly declares it as his belief that it was framed for the purpose of blinding the public mind[32].

The departure of the expedition.

It was the intention of the second Lord Baltimore, to have superintended in person the plantation of Maryland. But he abandoned this design; and, towards the close of the year 1633, sent out his brother Leonard as Governor. And here a statement has been made which takes away the only ground upon which we might have cherished the belief, that the issuing of the Charter was an act of personal favour on the King's part, done without due consideration; and that his counsellors,—especially Laud, at that time the chief among them,—were not fully cognizant of all that it involved. Not that this would have been a sufficient defence; although it might have been deemed some extenuation of the act. It would have been better, if we could have so regarded it, that the monarch, from his excessive partiality for a nobleman of high merit, should have conferred upon him a favour not lawful to grant; and that his ministers, from the increasing difficulties of their position, should not have had sufficient time to have examined the transaction as they ought, than that it should have been carried on, deliberately and resolutely, by the weight of Court influence, in spite of the remonstrances of the people. A measure carried into effect by such means throws of course the

[32] Edinb. Cab. Lib. (United States), i. 145.

whole burden of its responsibility upon all who at that period swayed the counsels of the King. And, that this was the character of the proceedings connected with the plantation of Maryland, there can be no doubt. The interval of nearly eighteen months which elapsed between the signing of the Charter and the departure of Calvert's followers, was caused solely, as he says in a letter to Strafford, by the opposition which the Charter had excited[33]. He speaks therein of being troubled in many ways by those who endeavoured to overthrow his business at the Council Board. In some instances, their opposition had arisen from the representations, made through the Attorney-General before the Star-Chamber, of evils which he was about to perpetrate; saying, that he intended to carry over nuns into Spain, and soldiers to serve the King; that his ships had left Gravesend without due authority from the Custom House; and that his people had abused the King's officers, and refused to take the oath of allegiance. It was not difficult for Calvert to prove the falseness of such reports; and his ships, which had been detained at first in consequence of them, were set at liberty. But the mere fact that such proceedings took place proves that public attention was drawn to the matter; and Calvert gratefully acknowledges, in the above letter, that, *by the help of some of his Lordship's good friends* and his own, he had overcome these difficulties, and sent a hopeful Colony into Maryland. It was clearly therefore an act for which Charles's chief counsellors must be held responsible.

Two other gentlemen were appointed Proceedings

[33] Strafford's Letters, &c. i. 178.

of Leonard Calvert and the first settlers in Maryland.

to act as commissioners with Leonard Calvert; and a band of adventurers accompanied them, amounting in all to two hundred persons[34], in two vessels; the one of 300 tons, called the Ark, and the other the Dove, a pinnace of 50 tons. Most historians relate that this party consisted of Roman Catholics; and it is probable that they were; but neither Calvert's letter nor the two narratives of the enterprise, alleged to have been drawn up by eye-witnesses, say one word about it[35]. They stopped for some days, in their voyage outwards, at Barbados and St. Kitt's; and reached Point Comfort in Virginia, February 24, 1633-4. Here they were received with apparent courtesy by the authorities of the province; although their arrival and the prospect of a new settlement in the adjoining region could scarcely be welcome to the Colonists of Virginia. The latter knew that the whole territory had once been assigned to them as their own inheritance; and therefore could ill brook the thoughts of losing for ever so fair and large a portion as that which, by the fiat of Charles, was now made over to

[34] In Calvert's letter above referred to, he gives their numbers differently, saying that two of his brothers had 'gone with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred labouring men well provided in all things.' The Biographie Universelle (Art. Calvert) states that two hundred Catholic families went out upon that occasion; a statement for which no authority whatever is to be found in any of the original documents.

[35] The first of these narratives is entitled 'Relation of the successefull beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland,' signed by Captain Wintour and others, 'Adventurers in the expedition,' and published in 1634. The second was published in the following year, and entitled 'Relation of Maryland.' It is little else than a meagre abridgment of the first narrative.

Baltimore and his people. In Clayborne, especially, the dread of losing the plantations made by him in Kent Island, and at the mouth of the Susquehannah, incited a desire to throw every impediment in the way of the new adventurers: and he sought, but in vain, to deter them from going further, by stories of the hostile intentions of the Indians. Calvert and his party, undismayed by the prospect of such dangers, set forward early in March for Chesapeak Bay, and sailed several leagues up the Potomac, giving names to the different places along which they passed. They advanced cautiously, as the Indians were on the look-out in large numbers; and Clayborne's alarming information seemed likely to be verified.

'Wee found,' say the adventurers, 'all the countrey in armes. The King of the Paschattowayes had drawen together 1500 bowemen, which we ourselves saw; the woods were fired in manner of beacons the night after; and for that our Vessell was the greatest that euer those Indians saw, the scoutes reported wee came in a Canow as bigge as an Iland, and had as many men as there bee trees in the woods.'

The manner in which they took formal possession of an Island, which they called St. Clement's, is thus described:

'Here wee went to a place, where a large tree was made into a crosse; and taking it on our shoulders, wee carried it to the place appointed for it. The Gouernour and Commissioners putting their hands first vnto it; then the rest of the chiefest adventurers. At the place prepared, wee all kneeled downe, and said certaine Prayers: taking possession of this countrey for our Sauiour; and for our Soueraigne Lord the King of England [36].'

The caution and sagacity of Calvert, and the kindness of his people, prevented any collision with the

[36] Relation of the successful beginnings, &c. p. 2.

natives; and, in a few days, the Indian King was seen sitting fearlessly among the English strangers. Soon afterwards, they proceeded up a river, called by them St. George's, but known at this time by the name of St. Mary's, which falls into the Potomac, upon the north side, about ten or twelve miles from its mouth; and, having landed at Yoacomoco,—so called from the Indians of that name who inhabited it, and by whom they were kindly received,—they marked out a piece of ground for St. Mary's Town, which they designed to build upon it.

'To avoid,' said they, 'all just occasion of offence, and collour of wrong, wee bought of the king for hatchetts, axes, howes, and clothes, a quantitie of some thirty miles which we call Augusta Carolina; and that which made them the more willing to sell it was the warres they had with the Sasqueiahanoughs, a mighty bordering nation, who came often into their countrey, to waste and destroy.'

How far this proceeding merited that praise which the adventurers with such complacency ascribe to it, I leave to be determined by others. To my mind, the grasping and tricky spirit of the Englishmen stands forth in most humiliating contrast with the unsuspecting simplicity of the poor Indians.

Harvey, the Governor of Virginia, came to visit Calvert and his followers, soon after they had fixed upon this their first settlement; and his coming drew to the same place a noble-minded Indian chief, who is called the King of Patuxent. The description of this chief's character and visit is given in most touching terms:

'When I heard,' said he, 'that a great Werowance of the English was come to Yoacomoco, I had a great desire to see him. But when I heard the Werowance of Pasbie-haye was come thither also

to visit him. I presently start up, and without further counsell, came to see them both.'

During his stay with the English, their colours were carried on shore; and

'The Arke's great gunnes, to honour the day, spake aloude; which the King of Patuxent with great admiration hearing, counselled his friends the Yoacomoco Indians to bee carefull that they breake not their peace with vs; and said, when we shoote, our bowstrings giue a twang that's heard but a little way off: but doe you heare what cracks their bowstrings give? Many such pretty sayings hee vsed in the time of his being with vs, and at his departure, he thus exprest his extraordinary affection vnto us, 'I do loue the English so well, that if they should kill me, so that they left me but some breath as to speake unto my people, I would command them not to revenge my death [37].'

Their equitable rule.

Every thing prospered at first in the new settlement. The equitable and wise counsels of Baltimore at home were faithfully supported by his brother and the Commissioners in Maryland. To encourage emigration to that province, it was provided that any person soever, who should be able to go thither in person or by deputy, with any number of able men between the ages of sixteen and fifty, and things necessary for a plantation, should receive, for every five men whom he should so take over, a thousand English acres of good land in the province, to be erected into a manor, and conveyed to him, his heirs and assigns, with all the royalties and privileges usually belonging to manors in England, paying in the commodities of the country a yearly quit-rent to Lord Baltimore of twenty shillings, and such other services as should be generally agreed upon for public uses and the common good. Any

[37] Ib. 5, 6.

person transporting to the Colony a less number than the above was to receive 100 acres for himself, and 100 acres more for every servant, to be holden of the Lord Proprietor in freehold, upon a yearly quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres. The expenses incurred by that nobleman in conveying emigrants to the Colony amounted to £40,000; and that this large outlay was made justly, as well as liberally, is evident from the subsidy of 15 lbs. of tobacco on every poll granted to him by the freemen of the province, at an early period of its history, 'as a testimony of their gratitude for his great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, in protecting the inhabitants in their rights, and for re-imbursing his vast charge[38].'

Assemblies for the regulation of the Colony were held in due form and order; and gradually extended their operations until a complete system of jurisprudence adapted to their specific wants was settled. Upon all the particulars connected with them, we are of course not required to dwell; but there are some, identified with the immediate subject of this work, which demand notice. And, foremost among these is the memorable oath required to be taken by the Governor and Council of Maryland,—and which was taken by them between the years 1637 and 1657,—in which these words occur,

And religious toleration.

'I will not, by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance, any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion[39].'

What withering rebuke does the record of this oath

[38] Ib. 22; Chalmers, 208. 230.

[39] Ib. 235.

cast upon the intolerant statutes of Virginia's Grand Assembly; upon the Puritan pride of Massachusetts; and upon the sentences of the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Court exhibited, in that day, in England!

Except in the case of slaves.

It is worthy, however, of remark, that, whilst a humane and just spirit of legislation in one most important particular was thus manifested, the practice of slavery was recognised and carried on in Maryland from the earliest period of its history. No sense of its unlawfulness, no desire to mitigate its severity, appear to have existed in any quarter. Received into the Colony in her infancy, it went on growing with her growth, and strengthening with her strength. Nay, the formal avowal of it in her Statute Book is made in terms which imply that the poor slave was to be left, as a matter of course, without sympathy and without hope; as much a stranger to the blessings of Christianity, as he already was to those of temporal freedom. An Act of the Assembly, in 1638, declares, with a harsh brevity, most significant of the utter indifference which was felt respecting them, that the people consisted of all Christian inhabitants, '*slaves only excepted*[40].'

Enactment touching the Church.

Another declaration of the Maryland Assembly of that period, which became afterwards the perpetual law of the province, here claims notice. It was to this effect:

'Holy Church within this Province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises, wholly and without blemish[41].'

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[40] Bacon's Laws of Maryland, 1638.

[41] Ib. 1638. 1640.

These are very nearly the words of the first section of Magna Charta[42]; and it cannot be doubted that the Proprietor of Maryland, being a Roman Catholic, understood by the expression 'Holy Church,' only that Church with which he was in communion; the jurisdiction of which, in matters spiritual and temporal, was established in England when Magna Charta was signed; and the renewal of which he would of course be anxious to see established in Maryland, as soon as possible. But then the Charter had provided that all Churches, Chapels, and places of public worship to be erected and founded under his sole licence, and of which he was to have the sole patronage, were to be dedicated and consecrated according to those ecclesiastical laws of England which were in force at the time of his receiving his Charter. If these conditions were to be faithfully observed, what became of the rights, liberties, franchises, of that 'Holy Church' which alone Baltimore, and the majo-

[42] The English translation of this section is as follows: 'That the Church of England shall be free, and enjoy her whole rights and liberties inviolable. And we will have them so to be observed; which appears from hence that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned most necessary for the Church of England, of our own free-will and pleasure, we have granted and confirmed by our Charter, and obtained the confirmation of from Pope Innocent III., before the discord between us and our Barons; which Charter we shall observe, and do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever.' Rapin in loc. Chalmers, in his notice of the resemblance between the above Section of Magna Charta and the enactment of the Maryland Assembly, p. 213, speaks of the vindication of the rights of the Church herein asserted as made against the inroads of Papal jurisdiction; but would it not be more correct to say that it was against the usurpation of the Crown? See Blackstone's Introduction to the History of the Charters, 291—293; Lingard, iii. 19—22.

rity of his followers, recognised as the true one? If not, what is to be thought of the consciences of those who, whilst they proclaimed one thing, intended another? Here, then, we detect the first breaking out of that plague-spot whose poison was deeply seated in the body of the Charter itself.

Whatsoever may have been the designs or hopes of the Lord of Maryland, he was not permitted to realise them at that time. His proposal to the Colonists of Massachusetts, to send a portion of their people to settle in his province, with the promise that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, was coldly refused[43]; and his efforts to advance in other ways the welfare of his infant Colony were thwarted by the necessity laid upon him to struggle with Clayborne, Secretary of the Virginia Assembly, an adversary, as insidious as he was daring. We have already stated the reasons which led Clayborne to view, with more than ordinary jealousy and alarm, the plantation of the new settlement; and, remembering his reckless character, it will not surprise us now to learn that he quickly put into operation every means which intrigue or fraud or violence could suggest to save his own possessions in Maryland. The incessant collisions thereby produced between the two Colonies, during the remainder of the present reign, make it impracticable to pursue their histories separately. Clayborne had already tried, but without success, to make good his footing in Maryland; and, having been driven home, and proclaimed a pirate and an outlaw, he was unable for a time to shield himself, either by the favour of Har-

Clayborne's disturbances.

[43] Savage's Winthrop, ii. 148: quoted by Hawks, ut sup. 30, 31.

vey or his own authority as a member of the Virginia Council, and was sent to England to answer for his crimes. But this show of justice was a mere pretence. He soon appeared again in Virginia; and, stirring up the Indians to war, by his false representations, struck a successful blow against Maryland. The contest, which broke out early in 1642, lasted then only for a short time; but was soon renewed; and, with the aid of one who was afterwards a convicted traitor, Richard Ingle, was pressed with such vigour, that Calvert was obliged to flee to Virginia for protection. And it was not until August, 1646, that peace was restored[41].

Retrospect of the affairs of Virginia from Harvey's first government.

Meanwhile, Virginia suffered many evils. Whilst the policy, pursued towards her by the advisers of the King in England, was calculated to discourage and distress the well-affected members of her Church, the cruel treatment of Harvey, who ruled her in the King's name, irritated all classes. At length, the Assembly could endure his tyranny no longer; and, on the 28th of April, 1635, thrust him out of the government, appointing Captain John West to act in his room, until the King's pleasure were known. The King's pleasure was speedily and painfully made known by the restoration of Harvey, early in 1636; and, for three years longer, he continued his arbitrary and oppressive rule, treating the Virginians 'rather as the vassals of an Eastern despot than as the subjects of the King of England, entitled to English liberties[45].'

Evil consequences of Harvey's

The consequences of such iniquitous conduct were felt by the whole Colony.

[41] Chalmers, 216.

[45] Hening, i. 223; Chalmers, 119.

But the Church, being under the power of the Assembly, and the Assembly being thus trampled under foot by the tyranny of the chief officer of the Crown, was the greatest sufferer. Some few faithful men, indeed, were still left, scattered up and down the province, and the traces of their fidelity are not wholly obliterated[46]; although the destruction of all the government archives, during the war of the Revolution, has swept away the memory even of the names of most of them on the other side of the Atlantic; and no one was now found at home to treasure up the records of their services, as Hakluyt and Purchas had done during the time of James[47]. Still,

rule, especially to the Church.

[46] Hening has supplied the names of some of the Clergy; Mr. Thomas Hampton, for instance, being described in an Act of the Assembly, 1645-6, as Rector of James City Parish, and consenting to the establishment of Harrop Parish, i. 317; and, soon after the Restoration, the following remarkable Order appears in the proceedings of the Assembly: 'March, 1660-1. Whereas Mr. Phillip Mallory hath been eminently faithfull in the ministry and very diligent in endeavouring the advancement of all those meanes that might conduce to the advancement of religion in this country, *It is ordered* that he be desired to undertake the soliciting of our church affaires in England, and that there be paid him as a gratuity for the many paines he hath alreadie and hereafter is like to take about the countreys business the sum of eleaven thousand pounds of tobacco, to be paid in the next levy.' ii. 34.

[47] Purchas, in his Pilgrims, carried on most effectively, as long as he was able, the work which Hakluyt had begun; and to these two Clergymen of the Church of England every one who would desire to see the earliest steps by which the commercial greatness of this nation has been attained, must ever turn with gratitude. At the point where their guidance ceases, no other compiler is found to take their place. To me this has been a matter of deep regret, for I was greatly indebted to the various materials collected by Hakluyt and by Purchas. Nor can I doubt but that similar evidences of the noble courage and devotion of several of our brethren were

the vital energies of the whole body of the Church throughout the Colony were rapidly sinking beneath the baneful influences which oppressed her. The depth of humiliation to which she was thus cast down, may be learnt from the following statement which occurs in a remarkable pamphlet of that day, entitled, 'Leah and Rachel[48].' The writer, having said that the Colonists had begun to provide and send home for Gospel ministers, and largely contributed to their maintenance, adds,

'Leah and Rachel.'

'But Virginia savouring not handsomely in England, very few of good conversation would adventure thither, (as thinking it a place wherein surely the fear of God was not) yet many came, such as wore black coats, and could babble in a Pulpet, roare in a Tavern, exact from the Parishioners, and rather by their dissoluteness destroy than feed their flocks.'

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sent home, during thel ater period now passing under review. But no man was found to be their chronicler.

It is a humiliating fact to learn, that the zeal of Purchas in rescuing such facts from oblivion involved him in great pecuniary difficulty. He was presented by Bishop King to the living of St. Martin's Ludgate, about the year 1615; a preferment, which the writer of his life in the Biographie Universelle most erroneously describes as 'un riche rectorat;' and he was also Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot. (Biog. Brit. in loc.) But, notwithstanding the aid which might have been looked for from such quarters, he was, according to some accounts, actually committed to prison, by reason of his inability to defray the expenses of a publication which will continue to amuse, instruct, and edify, as long as the memory of English literature shall last. Locke does not appear to have appreciated Purchas as he deserved; although he admits, that 'for such as can make choice of the best his collection is very valuable.' Works, xi. 546.

[48] This pamphlet was published by its author, John Hammond, in 1656, and dedicated to William Stone, Governor of Maryland under the Commonwealth.

The Instructions given to Wyat and to Berkeley tended, indeed, as we shall immediately see, to remedy in some measure these gross disorders; and to this the writer of the above pamphlet doubtless refers, when he says,

'The country was loath to be wholly without Teachers, and therefore rather retain these than to be destitute; yet still endeavours for better in their places, which were obtained, and these wolves in sheeps cloathing by their Assemblies were questioned, silenced, and some forced to depart the Country.'

Nevertheless, it is bitter humiliation to feel, that, whilst the Puritans of New England were spreading themselves far and wide throughout their territories, and securing to themselves and to their children the privileges which they accounted so dear; and, whilst to the Popish Proprietor of Maryland had been given the amplest inheritance and the most lordly prerogatives ever conferred upon a British subject; the Church of England in Virginia was left to the tender mercies of Harvey the tyrant, and Clayborne the hypocrite[49].

[49] This peculiar grievance of the Church in Virginia seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Merivale, in his able Lectures on Colonization, ii. 264. All that he has there said in not ascribing her decay to any lack of temporal sustenance, or to the tardiness of her establishment in the Colony is most true. She was, as he asserts, both 'liberally endowed,' and her establishment was coeval with the Colony itself. But his error, as I believe, is in saying that she was placed 'amongst ill wishers and lukewarm friends, standing alone, unconnected with any territorial aristocracy, or great educated body of adherents;' and 'because unable to win over the body of the people, she fell into a languid apathy.' The fact is, the people were with her, heart and soul; and Clergy, zealous and able, were at the outset found labouring among them; but neglect and oppression thinned their ranks; and to the rulers of the Church, both at home and in Virginia, must be ascribed her ruin. Her condition

Harvey recalled, and Wyat reappointed, 1638-9.

A limit was at length put to Harvey's misrule; and, early in 1638-9, the King, unable any longer to screen the atrocious acts of his deputy, revoked his commission. To him succeeded Sir Francis Wyat, whose name has already been so favourably associated with those of the most devoted and faithful Colonists of Virginia, in her earlier days; and whose resumption of office was received by her inhabitants with hearty and grateful welcome.

His Instructions respecting the Church.

The reader has been reminded more than once of the admirable Articles of Instruction which Wyat carried out to this province, nearly seventeen years before; and the fact is now adverted to again, because we find him entrusted with a similar body of rules upon the present occasion. It is needless to recite them all; but the following, which stands first upon the list, is worthy of attention:

That in the first place, you be carefull Almighty God may be duly and daily served according to the form of Religion established in the Church of England bothe by yourselfe and all the people under your charge, which may draw down a blessing upon your endeavours. And let every congregation that hath an able minister build for him a convenient Parsonage House, to which, for his better maintenance, over and above the usuall Pension you shall lay 200 Acres of Gleäble lands for the clearing of the ground: Every one of his Parishioners for three years shall give some days labour of themselves and their servants; and see that you have a speciall care that the Glebe land bè sett as near his Parsonage House as may be, and that it be of

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differed, in this respect, very much from that which was afterwards exhibited in Carolina, although Mr. Merivale has classed them both under the same category. To the Church, as it was established in Carolina, and to that alone, his description, as will be seen hereafter, is strictly applicable.

the best conditioned land. Suffer no invasion in matters of Religion, and be carefull to appoint sufficient and conformable ministers to each congregation, that may catechize and instruct them in the grounds and principles of Religion [50].'

There is every reason to believe, from what is known of Wyat's character, that such Instructions would not have remained a dead letter in his hands, had the opportunity of enforcing them been allowed to him; and, at the same time, that the mildness and equity of his administration would have prevented any rigorous and oppressive exercise of his powers. But his present Commission lasted only for a brief season,—from what cause I have not been able to ascertain [51],—and, in February, 1640-1, he was succeeded by Sir William Berkeley, one of the most distinguished Governors of Virginia.

[50] Orders in Council (Virginia) in the State Paper Office.

[51] Burk, in his History of Virginia, has expressed an opinion, ii. 46, that Wyat was superseded by Berkeley, on account of the King's wish to appease the jealousy of Parliament; but he has given no reason to show why this end was more likely to be attained by the appointment of Berkeley, than by allowing Wyat to continue in his office.

APPENDIX.

No. I. Page 233, *note.*

A Praier dvly said Morning and Euening vpon the Court of Gvard [in Virginia] either by the Captaine of the Watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers.

Mercifvl Father and Lord of heauen and earth, we come before Thy presence to worship Thee in calling vpon Thy name, and giuing thankes vnto Thee; and thovgh ovr dvties and ovr verie necessities call vs heerevnto, yet we confesse ovr hearts to be so dvll and vntoward, that vnlesse Thou be mercifvll to vs to teach vs how to pray, we shall not please Thee, nor profit ovr selves in these dvties.

Wee therefore most hvmbly beseech Thee to raise vp ovr hearts with Thy good Spirit, and so to dispose vs to praier, that with trve feruencie of heart, feeling of ovr wants, hvmblenesse of minde, and faith in Thy graciovs promises, we may present ovr svites acceptably vnto Thee by ovr Lord and Sauiour Jesvs Christ.

And Thou ovr Father of al mercies, that hast called vs vnto Thee, heare vs and pitie Thy poore seruants: we haue indeed sinned wondrovsly against Thee throvgh ovr blindnesse of mind, prophanesse of spirit, hardness of heart, selfe loue, worldliness, carnall lvsts, hypocrisie, pride, uanitie, vnthankfvlness, infidelitie, and other ovr natiue corrvptions,

which being bred in vs, and with vs, haue defiled vs euen from the wombe, and vnto this day, and haue broken ovt as plagve sores into innvmerable transgressions of all Thy holy lawes, (the good waies wherof we haue wilfully declined,) and haue many times displeased Thee, and ovr own consciences in chvsing those things, which Thou hast most jvstly, and seuerely forbidden vs. And besides all this, we haue ovtstood the graciovs time and meanes of our conuersion, or at least not stooped and hvmbled ovrselues before Thee, as wee ovght, althovgh we haue wanted none of those helpes, which Thou vouchsafest vnto Thy wandering children to fetch them home, withall; for we haue had together with Thy glorious workes, Thy Word calling vpon vs withovt, and Thy Spirit within, and haue been solicited by promises, by threatenings, by blessings, by chastisings, and by examples, on all hands. And yet ovr corrvpted spirits cannot become wise before Thee, to hvmble themselves, and to take heede as we ovght, and wish to do.

Wherefore, O Lord God, we do acknowledge Thy patience to haue beene infinite and incomparable, in that Thou hast been able to hold Thy hands from reuenging Thy selfe vpon vs thvs long, and yet pleasest to hold open the doore of grace, that we might come in vnto Thee and be saued.

And now, O blessed Lord God, we are desirovs to come vnto Thee, how wretched soeuer in ovr selues, yea ovr very wretchedness sends vs vnto Thee: vnto Thee with whom the fatherlesse, and he that hath no helper findeth mercy, we come to Thee in thy Son's name, not daring to come in ovr owne. In His name that came for vs, we come to Thee, in His mediation Whom Thou hast sent. In Him, O Father, in Whom Thov hast professed Thy selfe to be well pleased, we come vnto Thee, and doe most hvmbly beseech Thee to pitie vs, and to saue vs for Thy mercies' sake in Him.

O Lord ovr God, ovr sins haue not ovtbidden that bloud of Thy Holy Son which speaks for ovr pardon, nor can they be so infinite, as Thov art in thy mercies, and ovr hearts (O God Thou seest them) ovr hearts are desirovs to haue peace with

Thee, and war with ovr lusts, and wish that they covld melt before Thee, and be dissolued into godly movrning for all that filth that hath gone throvgh them, and defiled them. And ovr desires are now to serue and please Thee, and ovr pvrposes to endeuovr it more faithfvlly: we pray Thee therefore for the Lord Jesvs' sake seale vp in ovr consciences Thy graciovs pardon of all ovr sins past, and giue vs to feele the consolation of this grace shed abroad in ovr hearts for ovr eternall comfort and saluation: and that we may know this persvasion to be of Thy spirit, and not of carnall presvmption, (blessed God) let those graces of thy Spirit, which doe accompany saluation, be powred ovt more plentifully vpon vs: encrease in vs all godly knowledge, faith, patience, temperance, meeknesse, wisedome, godlinesse, loue to Thy Saints and seruice, zeale of Thy glory, jvdgment to discerne the difference of good and ill, and things present which are temporary, and things to come which are eternall.

Make vs yet at the last wise hearted to lay vp ovr treasure in heauen, and to set ovr affections more vpon things that are aboue, where Christ sits at Thy right hand: And let all the vaine and transitory enticements of this poore life, appeare vnto vs as they are, that ovr hearts may no more be intangled and bewitched with the loue of them.

O Lord, O God, ovr God, Thov hast dearely bovght vs for Thine owne selfe, giue vs so honest hearts as may be glad to yield the possession of Thine owne. And be Thou so graciovs, as yet to take them vp, thovgh we haue desperately held Thee ovt of them, in times past, and dwell in vs, and raigne in vs by Thy Spirit, that we may be svre to raigne with Thee in Thy gloriovs kingdome, according to Thy promise, throvgh Him that hath pvrchased that inheritance for all that trvst in Him.

And seeing Thou doest so promise these graces to vs, as that Thov reqvirest ovr indvstrie and diligence in the vse of svch meanes as serue thereto (good Lord) let vs not so crosse ovr praiers for grace, as not to seeke that by diligence, which we make show to seeke by prayer, least ovr owne waies con-

demne us of hypocrisie. Stirre vs vp therefore (O Lord) to the freqvent vse of prayer, to reading, hearing and meditating of Thy holy Word; teach vs to profit by the conuersation of Thy people, and to be profitable in ovr owne; make vs wise to apprehend all oportvnities of doing or receiuing spiritval good; strengthen vs with grace to obserue ovr hearts and waies, to containe them in good order, or to redvce them qvickly, let vs neuer thinke any company so good as Thine, nor any time so well spent, as that which is in Thy service, and beavtifying of Thine Image in ovrselues or others.

Particvlarly, we pray Thee, open ovr eies to see ovr natvrall infirmities, and to discouer the aduantages which Satan gets thereby. And giue vs care to striue most, where we are most assavlted and endamaged.

And Thou, O God, that hast promised to blesse Thine owne ordinances, blesse all things vnto vs, that we may grow in grace and in knowledge, and so may shine as light in this darke world, giuing good example to all men, and may in ovr time lie downe in peace of a good conscience, embaulmed with a good report, and may leaue Thy blessings entailed vnto ovrs after vs for an inheritance.

These, O Father, are ovr speciall svits, wherein wee beseech Thee to set forth the wonderfvl riches of thy grace towards vs, as for this life, and the things thereof, we craue them of Thee so farre as may be for ovr good, and Thy glory, beseeching Thee to prouide for vs, as vnto this day in mercy.

And when Thou wilt hvmble or exalt us, gouerne vs so long, and so farre, in all conditions and changes, as we may cleaue fast vnto Thee ovr God vnchangeably, esteeming Thee ovr portion, and svfficient inheritance for euermore. Now what graces we craue for ovrselves, which are here before Thy presence, we hvmbly begge for all those that belong vnto vs; and that by dvtie or promise wee owe ovr praiers vnto, beseeching Thee to be as graciovs vnto them, as vnto ovr owne sovls, and specially to svch of them, as in respect

of any present affliction or temptation may be in speciall neede of some more speedie helpe or comfort from Thy mightie hand.

Yea, ovr Lord God, we hvmbly desire to blesse with ovr praiers the whole Church, more specially ovr nation, and therein the king's Majestie ovr Soueraigne, his Qveene and royall seede, with all that be in avthoritie vnder him, beseeching Thee to follow him and them with those blessings of Thy protection and direction, which may preserue them safe from the malice of the world and of Satan, and may yeeld them in their great places faithfvll to Thee for the good of Thy people, and their owne eternall happinesse and honovr.

We beseech Thee to fvrnish the Churches with faithfull and frvitfull ministers, and to blesse their liues and labovrs for those mercifvll vses, to which Thov hast ordained them; sanctifie Thy people, O God, and let them not deceiue themselues with a formalitie of religion insteed of the power thereof; giue them grace to profit both by those fauovrs, and by those chasticements which Thou hast sent svccessiuely or mixedly amongst them. And, Lord, represse that rage of sinne and prophanesse in all Christian states, which breeds so mvch Apostacy and defection, threatening the taking away of this light from them. Confovnd Thou, O God, all the covnsel and practices of Satan and his ministers, which are or shall be taken vp against Thee, and the kingdome of Thy deare Sonne. And call in the Jewes together with the fvlnesse of the Gentiles, that Thy name may be gloriovs in al the world, the daies of iniqvity may come to an end, and we with all Thine elect people may come to see Thy face in glorie, and be filled with the light thereof for euermore.

And now, O Lord of Mercie, O Father of the spirits of all flesh, looke in mercie vpon the Gentiles, who yet know Thee not; O graciovs God be mercifvll to vs, and blesse vs, and not vs alone, bvt let Thy waies be knowne vpon earth, and Thy sauing health amongst all nations: we praise Thee, and we blesse Thee. But let the people praise Thee,

O God; yea, let all the people praise Thee; and let these ends of the world remember themselues, and tvrne to Thee, the God of their saluation. And, seeing Thou hast honovred vs, to choose vs ovt to beare Thy name vnto the Gentiles, we therefore beseech Thee to blesse vs, and this ovr plantation, which we and ovr nation haue begvn in Thy feare, and for Thy glory. We know, O Lord, we haue the diuel and al the gates of hel against vs; bvt, if Thou, O Lord, be on our side, we care not who be against vs. O therefore vouchsafe to be ovr God, and let vs be a part and portion of Thy people; confirm Thy couenant of grace and mercy with vs, which Thou hast made to Thy Chvrch in Christ Jesvs. And seeing, Lord, the highest end of ovr plantation here is to set vp the standard, and display the banner of Jesvs Christ, euen here where Satan's throne is, Lord, let ovr labovr be blessed in laboring the conuersion of the heathen. And, becavse Thov vsest not to work svch mighty works by vnholy means, Lord, sanctifie ovr spirits, and giue vs holy harts, that so we may be Thy instrvments in this most gloriovs work. Lord, inspire ovr sovls with Thy grace, kindle in vs zeale of Thy glory; fill ovr harts with Thy feare, and ovr tongves with Thy praise; fvrnish vs all, from the highest to the lowest, with all gifts and graces needful not onely for ovr saluation, bvt for the discharge of ovr dvties in ovr seuerall places; adorn vs with the garments of jvstice, mercy, loue, pitie, faithfvlnesse, hvmility, and all vertues; and teach vs to abhor al uice, that ovr lights may so shine before these heathen, that they may see ovr good works, and so be brovght to glorifie Thee, ovr heauenly Father. And seeing, Lord, we professe ovrselues Thy seruants, and are abovt Thy worke, Lord, blesse vs; arme vs against difficvlties, strength vs against all base thovghts and temptations, that may make vs looke backe againe. And, seeing by Thy motion and work in ovr harts, we haue *left ovr warme nests at home*[1], and pvt our liues into ovr hands, principally to honovr Thy name, and aduance the kingdome of Thy Son, Lord giue vs leaue

[1] See p. 233, *ante*.

to commit ovr liues into Thy hands; let thy Angels be abovt vs, and let vs be as Angels of God sent to this people. And so blesse vs, Lord, and so prosper all ovr proceedings, that the heathen may neuer say vnto vs, Where is now yovr God? Their idols are not so good as siluer and gold, bvt lead and copper, and the works of their own hands. But Thou, Jehouah, art ovr God, and we are the works of Thy hands. O then let Dagon fall before Thy arke, let Satan be confovnded at Thy presence; and let the heathen see it, and be ashamed, that they may seeke Thy face, for their God is not as ovr God, themselues being jvdges. Arise, therefore, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate Thee, flie before Thee. As the smoke vanisheth, so let Satan and his delvsions come to novght; and, as wax melteth before the fire, so let wickedness, svperstition, ignorance, and idolatrie, perish at the presence of Thee ovr God. And, whereas we haue by vndertaking this plantation vndergone the reproofs of the base world, insomvch as many of ovr owne brethren lavgh vs to scorne, O Lord, we pray Thee, fortifie vs against this temptation: let Sanballat and Tobias, Papists and players, and svch other Amonits and Horonits, the scvm and dregs of the earth, let them mocke svch as helpe to bvild vp the wals of Jervsalem; and they that be filthy, let them be filthy still; and let svch swine still wallow in their mire, bvt let not the rod of the wicked fal vpon the lot of the righteovs; let them not pvt forth their hands to svch vanity, bvt let them that feare Thee rejoice and be glad in Thee, and let them know that it is Thou, O Lord, that raignest in England, and vnto the ends of the world. And seeing this work mvst needs expose vs to many miseries, and dangers of sovle and bodie, by land and sea, O Lord, we earnestly beseech Thee to receiue vs into Thy fauour and protection; defend vs from the delvsions of the diuel, the malice of the heathen, the inuasions of ovr enemies, and mvtinies and dissensions of ovr own people; knit ovr hearts altogether in faith and feare of Thee, and loue one to another; giue vs patience, wisedome, and constancy, to goe on throvgh all difficvlties and temptations, till this blessed work be ac-

complished, for the honovr of Thy name, and glory of the Gospel of Jesvs Christ. That when the heathen do know Thee to be their God, and Jesvs Christ to be their saluation, they may say, Blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English nation, and blessed for euer be the most high God, possessor of heauen and earth, that sent them amongst vs. And heere, O Lord, we do vpon the knees of ovr harts offer Thee the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiuing, for that Thou hast moved ovr harts to vndertake the performance of this blessed work with the hazard of ovr person, and the hearts of so many hvndreds of ovr nation to assist it with meanes and prouision, and with their holy praiers: Lord looke mercifvlly vpon them all, and for that portion of their svbstance which they willingly offer for thy honovr and seruice in this action; recompence it to them and theirs, and reward it seuenfold into their bosomes with better blessings; Lord blesse England ovr sweet natiue covntrey, saue it from Popery, this land from heathenisme, and both from Atheisme. And, Lord, heare their praiers for vs, and vs for them, and Christ Jesvs ovr gloriovs Mediator for vs all. Amen.

No. II. Page 330.

Extract from the Copy of Royal Instructions to the Governor of Newfoundland, July 26, 1832; and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed August 7, 1832. They are given also in the Appendix to Clark's Summary of Colonial Law, &c. pp. 435—449.

49. And whereas by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date at Westminster the 10th day of May, 1825, the Island of Newfoundland was constituted to be part of the See of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the said Bishop was thereby duly authorized to exercise jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical, in the said Colonies, it is Our will and pleasure, that in the administration of the government of our said island you should be aiding and assisting to the said Bishop, and to his commissary or commissaries, in the execution of their charge and the exercise of such ecclesiastical jurisdiction, excepting only the granting licences for marriages and probates of wills.

50. We do enjoin and require that you do take especial care that Almighty God be devoutly and truly served throughout your government, the Book of Common Prayer, as by law established, read each Sunday and holiday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that all orthodox churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and that more be built, as Our island shall, by God's blessing, be improved. And that, besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the minister of each orthodox church, a convenient house be built at the common charge for each minister, and a competent portion of land for a glebe be allotted to him. And you are to take care that the parishes be so limited and settled as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this

good work: and in all matters relating to the celebration of Divine Worship, the erection and repair of churches, the maintenance of ministers, and the settlement of parishes throughout your government, you are to advise with the Right Reverend Father in God the Bishop of Nova Scotia for the time being.

51. Upon the vacancy of any ecclesiastical benefice in Our said island, you will present to the said Bishop of Nova Scotia for the time being, for institution to such vacant benefice, any clerk in holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland, who shall have been actually resident within the said diocese, and officiating there as a clerk in holy orders for six calendar months at the least next before such benefice shall have become vacant, whom the said Bishop may certify to you to be a fit and proper person to fill such vacancy, and to be a person of good life and conversation, and conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the said United Church. But if at the time of any such vacancy occurring there shall not be resident within the said diocese any clerk in holy orders of the said United Church who shall have been resident and officiating therein as aforesaid, in whose favour the said Bishop shall think proper so to certify to you, or if no such certificate shall be received by you from the said Bishop within three calendar months next after such vacancy shall occur, then, and in either of such cases, you shall forthwith report the circumstances to Us, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, to the intent that We may nominate some fit and proper person, being a clerk in holy orders as aforesaid, to fill the said vacancy. And We do enjoin and command you to present to the said Bishop for institution to any such vacant ecclesiastical benefice, any clerk who may be so nominated by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

52. You are to inquire whether there be any minister within your government, who preaches and administers the Sacrament in any orthodox church or chapel without being in due orders, and to give an account thereof to the said Bishop of Nova Scotia.

53. And whereas doubts have arisen whether the powers of granting licences for marriages and probates of wills, commonly called the Office of Ordinary, which We have reserved to you, Our Governor, can be exercised by deputation from you to any other person within Our said island under your government, it is Our express will and pleasure, and you are hereby directed and required not to grant deputations for the exercise of the said powers, commonly called the Office of Ordinary, to any person or persons whatsoever in Our said island under your government.

54. And you are to take especial care, that a table of marriages established by the canons of the Church of England be hung up in every orthodox church and duly observed.

55. The Right Reverend Father in God, Edmund, then Lord Bishop of London[1], having presented a petition to his Majesty King George the First, humbly beseeching him to send instructions to the governors of all the several colonies and plantations in America, that they cause all laws already made against blasphemy, profaneness, adultery, fornication, polygamy, incest, profanation of the Lord's day, swearing, and drunkenness, in their respective governments to be rigorously executed; and We, thinking it highly just that all persons who shall offend in any of the particulars aforesaid should be prosecuted and punished for their said offences, it is therefore Our will and pleasure that you take due care for the punishment of the afore-mentioned vices; and that you earnestly recommend that effectual laws be passed for the restraint and punishment of all such of the afore-mentioned vices against which no laws are as yet provided. And also you are to use your endeavours to render the laws in being more effectual, by providing for the punishment of the afore-mentioned vices, by presentment upon oath to be made to the temporal courts by the churchwardens of the several parishes, at proper times of the year to be appointed for that purpose; and for the further discouragement of vice, and

[1] Bishop Gibson, who presided over the See of London from 1723 to 1748.

encouragement of virtue and good living, you are not to admit any person to public trusts or employments in the island under your government whose ill-fame and conversation may occasion scandal.

56. It is Our further will and pleasure, that you recommend to the Legislature to enter upon proper methods for the erecting and maintaining schools, in order to the training up of youth to reading, and to a necessary knowledge of the principles of religion. You are not, however, to give your consent to any act respecting religion, without a clause suspending its operation, until Our pleasure shall have been signified thereupon, unless a draft thereof shall have been previously transmitted by you for Our consideration and approval.

57. And We do further direct, that in all matters arising within your government, connected with the education of youth in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine of the said United Church of England, or connected with the prevention of vice and profaneness, or the conversion of negroes and other slaves, or connected with the worship of Almighty God, or the promotion of religion and virtue, you be advising with the Bishop for the time being of the said diocese of Nova Scotia, and be aiding him in the execution of all such designs and undertakings as may be recommended by the said Bishop for the promotion of any of the objects before mentioned, so far as such designs and undertakings may be consistent with the law and with your said commission, and these Our instructions.

No. III. Page 380.

A Prayer being arrived at a Port among Infidels.

O Lord it is thy goodnesse and mercie that hath brought vs safe through the many dangers of Sea vnto this place: where we are to enter yet into more dangers, being to trade and conuerse with such as neither know thee nor feare thee, and therefore can neither loue thee, nor vs that are professors of thy great name. We humbly entreate thee therefore to continue thy fatherly protection ouer vs, that we make not ovrselues a prey vnto them: Watch thou ouer vs (O Lord) and giue vs grace so to watch ouer our selues, that wee may not any waies so misbehaue our selues, that thy Gospell, which we professe, may by our meanes be euill spoken of amongst them. Let the feare of thee cause vs to examine all our waies, to bee directed both in our words and deeds by thy will: Let vs take heed, that hauing endured some wants at Sea, and comming now to fresh victuals, wee abuse not thy good creatures, by wasting and consuming them in intemperance in meate and drinke, by which many before vs haue shortened their daies: neither let vs giue way vnto our fleshly lusts, which besot the wisest that take pleasure in them: But grant vs the sober vse of thy good blessings, with thanksguiuing vnto thee that art the only giuer of them. Giue vs grace daily to call vpon thee in whom onely wee trust, and let vs striue to liue in loue and peace together, forbearing and forguiuing one another, if any occasions of quarrell and discord arise amongst vs. Make vs true and trustie vnto those that haue imployed vs hither and haue prouided carefully for the supply of our wants, and haue put vs in trust with the managing of their businesse: And let our whole cariage and conuersation both toward them, and toward our selues, and toward the Heathen, (while we liue among them) be such, as may rellish of true Christianitie and godlinesse

as may win vs favour in this peoples eyes, and may giue satisfaction at our returne home (if it please thee to deale so mercifully with vs) both to the Aduenturers that sent vs foorth, and more specially to our owne consciencies, that in all ovr actions we haue set thy feare before our eyes, and depended vpon thy blessing on our honest endeauours. Let us not be ouertaken with the sins of couetousnes or pride; but both detest all filthie lucre, knowing it cannot profit vs to win all the world and lose our owne soules: and that the more blessings thou bestowest vpon vs, the more humble hearted wee ought to be, and so to carrie ourselues. Let vs striue by all meanes to win and draw these Heathen to faith in thy name, so as wee may giue no scandall vnto our profession. And teach vs so to acknowledge thy goodnesse and mercie toward vs, that wee may euer be readie to publish and declare it vnto others, and depending still vpon thee (not for any merits of ours, but for thy Sonne our Sauiour Iesus Christ his sake) may ascribe vnto thee all honour, praise, and glorie for euer and euer. Amen.

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RULES

FOR THE

PRESERVATION OF DR. BRAY'S LENDING LIBRARIES

In the Colonies.

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1. The Bishop of the diocese shall be requested to act as Visitor of the Library.
2. Three or more clergymen shall be appointed trustees to take charge of the books.
3. On the death, removal from the neighbourhood, or resignation of any trustee, the remaining trustees shall appoint a successor, to be approved by the Bishop, from among the neighbouring Clergy, and inform the Associates of the appointment; or in the event of their neglecting to make such appointment within three months after the occurrence of a vacancy, the Bishop may appoint a successor.
4. The trustees shall appoint a librarian, and furnish him from time to time with the names of the clergymen entitled to the use of the Library.
5. The librarian, on his appointment, shall make three catalogues of the books, which shall be signed by the trustees. One copy shall be sent to the Associates' secretary in London *, one to the Bishop of the diocese, and the third shall be kept with the books.
6. The librarian shall, before the end of January in every third year, report to the Bishop the number, titles, and condition of the books under his care, and send a copy of such report countersigned by one or more of the trustees to the Associates' secretary.
7. Any person losing or injuring any of the books shall be answerable to the trustees for the loss or injury.
8. On any volume being borrowed or returned, an entry shall be made thereof in the register provided by the Associates.
9. The trustees may make any regulations for the management of the Library, not inconsistent with the above Rules.

* *No. 79, Pall Mall.*